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GRAMMAR OF THE ARAMAIC
IDIOM CONTAINED IN THE
BABYLONIAN TALMUD

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A GRAMMAR
OF THE
ARAMAIC IDIOM
CONTAINED IN THE
BABYLONIAN TALMUD

WITH CONSTANT REFERENCE TO
GAONIC LITERATURE

BY
C. LEVIAS

PART I.

CINCINNATI
The Bloch Publishing and Printing Company
1896

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LANGUAGES AND
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TO
THE REV. DR. ISAAC M. WISE
THE VENERABLE PRESIDENT OF THE
HEBREW UNION COLLEGE
CINCINNATI, O.
RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED BY THE
AUTHOR.

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PREFACE.

The literature on the grammar of the idiom of the Babylonian Talmud is very scanty. There are only four works which require mention.¹ S. D. Luzzatto published in 1865 a short sketch of the Talmudic idiom intended as a handbook for his students.² This excellent little work, though not quite satisfactory when judged by our present standards, will always retain a certain value to the student of our subject, as the chief linguistic phenomena were noticed and, on the whole, correctly explained by the author. In 1879 Dr. G. Ruelph published his inaugural dissertation, *Zur Lautlehre der aramäisch talmudischen Dialekte. I. Die Kehllaute*, in which the author discusses the comparative treatments of the gutturals in both Talmudim. This work is a valuable contribution to Talmudic phonetics, and it is to be regretted that the author has not continued the subject. In 1888 Dr. A. Rosenberg published a dissertation, *Das aramäische Verbum im babylonischen Talmud*, which is a good, though not exhaustive, exposition of the verbal forms in the Talmud. Lastly, in 1895 Dr. Liebermann published his inaugural thesis: *Das Pronomen und das Adverbium des babylonisch-talmudischen Dialektes*, a work incomplete and a mere compilation. Besides the above works, Noeldeke's excellent Mandaic grammar, although not bearing directly upon our subject, contains many valuable references to the Babylonian Talmud, and has been of great help to the present author.

I also made use of the Talmud MSS. in possession of Columbia College, containing the treatises *פסחים*, *זבחים*, *מועד קטן*, *מגילה* and Alfasi's compendium of *ביצה*. These MSS. have some words

¹ Cf. also J. Levy, "Notes de grammaire Judéo-Babylonienne," *REJ.*, I., 212-221; and M. Lewin, *Aramäische Spruchwörter und Volkssprüche*, pp. 24-28.

² *Elementi grammat. del Caldeo-Biblico e del dial. Talm. Babilonese*, Padua, 1865. Germ. translation by M. S. Krueger, Breslau, 1873; Engl. translation by J. S. Goldammer, New York, 1867; Hebrew translation of the second part by Ch. Z. Lerner, St. Petersburg, 1880.

vocalized. Whenever that vocalization is referred to, this is expressly stated.

The author has adopted the use of the vowel-signs in order to secure a greater degree of clearness and exactness in exposition than would otherwise have been possible. This, however, does not imply any claim to having succeeded in restoring the original vocalization.

Some valuable suggestions embodied in this work I owe to my esteemed teacher, Dr. Paul Haupt, Professor of Semitic languages in the Johns Hopkins University.

INTRODUCTION.

The Babylonian Talmud is written partly in Hebrew and partly in Aramaic. The latter is a dialect of upper Babylonia, still spoken in the eleventh century,¹ and is closely akin to the Mandaic.² We find no special name for this dialect, it being generally spoken of as אַרְמִית or לְשׁוֹן אַרְמִי, an appellation used also for other Aramaic dialects.³

The Babylonian Talmud, or, more precisely, the Babylonian Gemārâ, was committed to writing about 500 A. D., but did not receive its final shape before the close of the eighth century. It is a compilation of literary productions extending, in the main, over a period of nearly three centuries (200–500). Earlier elements are found in the formulæ of legal documents, in extracts from *Meghillath Ta'anith* and from encyclicals of the patriarch R. Gamliel II. All these belong to the Palestinian Aramaic, and

¹ Cf. C. Levias, *AJP.*, XVI., p. 35, note 4; in reprint, p. 8, note 4.

² Noeldeke, *MG.*, xxvi, sq.

³ For other names of Judæo-Aramaic, cf. Dalman, *GJPA.*, 1 sq. and p. 340. Jepheth ben Ali in his commentary on Daniel calls Aramaic **لغة الفارسية**, which is probably a mistake for **لغة الفريسيّة** the language of the Pharisees. His compiler in the **ס' העשר** renders it by **לְשׁוֹן רַבָּנִים**. Vide D. S. Margoliouth's note on p. 7 of his edition of said commentary (*Anecdota Oroniensia, Semitic Series*, I.). R. Çemaḥ Gāōn in his answer with reference to Eldad, quoted by Epstein in his edition of *Eldad ha-Dānī*, p. 7, says: **אלא בתלמוד שאנשי בבל גורסין אותו בלשון ארמית ובני ארץ ישראל לשונם**; cf. Epstein's note, *ibid.*, p. 20. Maimonides in his *Dalālāt al-hā'irīn* (I., ch. 74) quotes the Talmudic proverb **ערבך ערבא צריך** as used **عند السريان**, which is rendered by Falaquera (**מורה המורה** p. 64) by **אצל בעלי התרגום**. Dunaš, in his *תשובות* ed. Schroeter, calls also the Aramaic of the Targumim **לְשׁוֹן כַּשְׁדִּי**, while Parchon calls also Bibl. Aramaic **תרגום**. The author of **ספר השהם** calls Bibl. Aramaic now **תרגום** (rad. **מלא**, **מלח**, **סתר**), now **לְשׁוֹן אַרְמִי** (rad. **סער**), now **לְשׁוֹן סוּרִיאָנִי** (rad. **גזר**). An anonymous writer in Arabic calls our dialect **نابطية** (*Nabatean* (cf. Geiger's *Jüd. Zeitschr.*, VI., 69). E. Levita in his preface to his **מתורגמן** classes the Aramaic of the Bible, of the Targum Onkelos, of pseudo-Jonathan and of the Talmud Babli as **לְשׁוֹן בָּבֶל** as opposed to the **לְשׁוֹן יְרוּשָׁלַיִם** of the Targum Jerushalmi and the Talmud Jerushalmi.

are cited in this work under the designation *legal style*. To an older stage of language belong also magical formulæ, exorcisms and some proverbs. To a later period belong minor additions of the Saboraim and Geonim.¹

As might have been expected from the compilatory nature of the Talmud, its language is not uniform, but shows traces of various stages of development. Originally, the dialectical and chronological variations must have been quite marked. But in course of time these differences were smoothed down by later scholars, familiar forms and expressions being substituted for rare ones, and dialectical characteristics have thus largely been obliterated.

Traces of a more original character have been preserved in a few treatises containing laws of no practical application after the destruction of the Temple. Such treatises were not frequently studied in the schools and therefore were not subjected to the process of obliteration as much as other parts of the Talmud. Here belong, among others, Tāmīd, Me'ilā, Temūrā, Nedārīm and Nāzīr, especially the two last mentioned treatises. They are marked by older forms of the possessive suffixes כּוֹן, יִכוֹן, הוֹן, יִהוֹן, for הוֹ, יְהוֹ, הוּ; by the demonstratives הַזֶּה, הַהִוא, הַהִיא; by the personal pronouns אֲנִי and אַתָּה; by the forms מִדַּעַם, אֲנִיחָא, מִדַּעַם, הַיְלִי, for the usual מִיְדֵי, אֲתָחָא, מִיְדֵי; by the more frequent use of יָת and such expressions as תִּיבְעִי for תִּיבְעִי *the question remains undecided*, אִינְשִׁי אִיירִי בְּהוֹן or אִינְשִׁי מֵאֵן דְּכַר שְׁמִיָּה *who spoke of it?!* יֵאָמֵר *well*, יֵאָלֵי or יֵאָלֵי *proper*. I am also under the impression that the nota dativi נִדְּהָא, so common in other treatises, is wanting in Ned. and Nāzīr.

In some places dialectical expressions are specially mentioned as such in the Talmud. A collection of such expressions has been made by Adolph Bruell in his *Fremdsprachliche Redensarten und ausdrücklich als fremdsprachlich bezeichnete Wörter in den Talmuden und Midraschim*. Leipzig, 1869.

¹For editions of the Talmud cf. Rabbinovicz, *מאמר על הדפסת התלמוד* in Vol. VIII. of his *Variae Lectiones*. Literary and methodological introductions have been written by H. L. Strack, *Einführung in den Talmud*, 2d ed., 1894, and M. Mielziner, *Introduction to the Talmud*, Cincinnati, 1894. The last mentioned work is indispensable to a proper understanding of Talmudical discussions.

The lexicography of the Talmud has been treated of late by J. Levy in his *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1876–1889; by A. Kohut in his *Aruch Completum*, Vols. I.–VIII., Vienna, 1878–1892, *Supplement to Aruch Completum*, New York, 1892; and by M. Jastrow in his *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, London and New York, 1886, *sq.* (still unfinished).

The text of the Talmud is in a very unsatisfactory condition and a critical edition of it is much to be desired. An invaluable contribution to textual criticism is R. Rabinovicz's great, though unfinished work, *Variae Lectiones in Mischnam et in Talmud Babylonicum*, Vols. I.–XV., Munich, 1867–1886.

A critical edition of the Talmud is not to be expected in the near future. The preliminary work required for such an undertaking—the completion of the work begun by the late Rabinovicz, and critical editions of the early commentators and epitomizers—will require some time. For the present, the edition of single treatises in a handy form and esthetic garb, with such critical exactness as is at present attainable, is very much to be desired. Specimens of such editions have been given by Mr. M. Friedman¹ and Professor H. L. Strack.²

It is also to be hoped that the various languages and dialects contained in post-biblical Jewish literature be also separately treated lexicographically.

The language, as it has come down to us, was in the main the spoken language of the time. This is evident from the numerous proverbs and other haggadic elements recorded in the Talmud. But the scholastic terminology is essentially an artificial product of the scholars. The vocabulary contains a number of words borrowed from the Persian, but very few words of Greek and Latin. The few words of classical origin occurring in Aramaic phraseology are probably borrowed from Palestinean literature, and did not belong to the language of the people.³ Its orthog-

¹ "Babylonischer Talmud, Tractat Makkoth," in *Verhandlungen des VII., intern. Orientalisten Congresses*, Wien, 1886 (printed 1888).

² The treatises of the Mišnā: *Yômā*, *'Abôdā*, *Zārā*, *'Abôth*, and *Sabbath* (Schriften des Inst. Jud. in Berlin).

³ Upon examination of Buxtorf's Lexicon, C. R. Conder gives a list of thirty-seven Greek loan-words to be found exclusively in the Babylonian Talmud (*cf. Proc. of PEF.*, 1890, 324), but his data are not trustworthy.

raphy is in the main phonetic, but there is ground for the belief that the gutturals were less distinguished in actual speech than might be inferred from the orthography.

Further literature in the dialect of the Babylonian Talmud is to be found in portions of the liturgy, in the later Midrašim¹ and in the works of the Geonim. The latter extend over a period of about 400 years (c. 750–1138). To this class belong the *שאלות ותשובות* of 'Aḥai of Šabḥâ, ed. princ. Venice, 1546; *הלכות גדולות* of Simon Qiyārâ, ed. pr. Venice, 1548. Another version of this work was published by I. Hildesheimer, Berlin, 1888–1892;² *אגרות ר' שרירא גאון* latest edition by A. Neubauer in *Medieval Jewish Chronicles* (*Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series*, I., 4, Oxford, 1887) and the Aramaic *תשובות הגאונים*, for the literature of which cf. Z. Frankel, *Entwurf einer Geschichte der Litteratur der nachtalmudischen Responsen*, Breslau, 1865, and J. Mueller, *מפתח לתשובות הגאונים*, Berlin, 1891.

The language of the Gaonic literature shows the influence of the Targum; and this is especially the case in the forms of the possessive and enclitic personal suffixes, and in the retention of the final *nûn* in the plural of nouns, verbs, and participles.

¹ Cf. Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

² This work contains older elements.

I. SCRIPT AND ORTHOGRAPHY

SCRIPT.

*Letters.*¹—§ 1. The alphabet used in the Talmud, the number of letters, and their phonetic values are the same as in Hebrew.

Vowels.—§ 2. No vowel-signs are used in the Talmud. Traditional pronunciation employs the whole variety of vowel-sounds found in the Masoretic text of the Bible. סָגוֹל is rare, the preference being given to צִירִי or הִירֶק.

Numerals.—§ 3. The letters of the alphabet are also used for numerals. א-ט are used for units; ז-י, for tens; ק-ת, for 100–400. Compound numbers are expressed by composition, the larger numeral being placed on the right: יב 12, לד 34, קכג 123. Numbers higher than 499 are expressed: 500 by תק; 600, תר; 700, תש; 800, תת; 900, תתק, etc.² When the letters are used within the text with numerical value they always have the sign of abbreviation (§ 6): כ"ה, 28; ג', 3; קל"ה, 135.³ When used for pagination, the sign of abbreviation is omitted.

Reading of Numerals.—§ 4. When the number consists of one or of two letters, the names of the letters are read. Thus, ג' is not read תִּלְתָּא or תִּלְתָּה, which it represents, but גִּמְלָה; so ר"ה, ש"ב are read רִישׁ הָא, שְׁנֵין בֵּית הָא. Numbers containing more than two signs are read either as above, or are vocalized; e. g., תַּקִּי, 900; תַּרְיִג, 613; רַמִּיח, 248.

¹ For the names of the letters cf. Hamburger, *Real-Encycl. f. Bibel u. Talmud, Supplem.*, article "Grammatik." Notice also the usual pronunciation of the following names of letters Alleph, Gimmel, Daled, Hêth, Têth, Yûd, Kâph, Lammed, Sammekh, Çaddîq (Berliner, *Beiträge zur hebr. Gram.*, 22), Qûph. TG., ed. Harkavy, § 26 וָן, § 49 has לָבֶדֶד for לָמֶד (cf. Samaritan Labad, Petermann, *Gram. sam.*, p. 2, written לַבֶּאֱת, Munk, *TM.* 10); Col. MS. (Meg. end) voc. גִּמְלָה; HG. has רָאִי for רָאִי. The forms of the names of the letters in post-Gaonic literature I shall give in my *Dictionary of Philological Terminology in Hebrew and Aramaic*, now in preparation.

² In later Hebrew thousands are expressed by units with dots over them. Thus אָ, 1000; בָּ, 2000; הָ, 5000. Numbers from 500–900 are expressed in Masoretic writings by the final letters ק-ך. In writing, the final letters are always written on the left: גִּץ = 903.

³ In MSS. we find sometimes other signs used. Thus תַּרְיִג תַּרְיִג may be written תַּרְיִג or תַּרְיִג.

Diacritical Signs.—§ 5. שָׁבַע and דָּגֵשׁ¹ like the vowel signs do not occur in the text. The end of a section is indicated by a double point (:).² The same sign marks the end of a quotation from the Mišnā at the head of a section. The employment of this sign is not always consistent. Minor subdivisions are not marked.

§ 6. A word not written out in full is followed by a slanting stroke above the line.³ Thus, גַּמְלָה, רַב, רַבִּי or רַבִּי, for רַבִּי, גַּמְלָה, רַבִּי. If two or more consecutive words are abbreviated a double stroke is written in the middle. Thus, תַּנּוּ רַבֵּן, קַמְלָה, מִשְׁמַע לְךָ, מֵאָה שָׁנָה, קָא מִשְׁמַע לְךָ. The signs are employed to mark letters used as numerals (§ 3) or the names of the letters of the alphabet. Thus דַּלְת, גִּמְלָה, בֵּית, אֶלֶף, 'Aleph, Beth, Gimel, Daleth, to distinguish them from אֶלֶף thousand, בֵּית house, etc.

ORTHOGRAPHY.

Vowels.—§ 7. The vowels *ō*, *o*, *ö*, *û* and *ũ* are invariably indicated by אֶקְטוּל I shall kill; מוֹתָא death; אַחֵרִי another (f.); אָמְרִי they said; מַנְכָּא man. The mater lectionis ו is sometimes omitted in verbs with consonantal ו as second stem-consonant: לֹא־שָׁוִי to make even.

§ 8. The vowels *ē*, *e*, *ĕ*, *ī*, *i* and *ĩ* are usually indicated by the mater lectionis ו: תַּעֲבִיד thou wilt do; בֵּיתָא house; אֶפֶס I shall go up; אָמְרִי they say; מֵית died; אִי־אִי if; אֵיל or אֵיל go thou. But the ו is sometimes omitted. This is generally the case with words common to both Aramaic and Hebrew; e. g., מִשְׁלֵם pays; מִפְּרֵשׁ explains; מִתְּרֵן answers.⁵

§ 9. The vowel *ā* or *â*, when final, is marked by א; less frequently by ה. The latter is usually the case in the feminine ending of the verb. Inter-consonantal *ā* or *â* is seldom indicated by א, never by ה. This is the case in MSS. and later literature more frequently than in the printed text: מַלְכָּתָא queen; שַׁבָּא Sabbath, week; בִּישָׂא evil, bad; שְׁכִיבָא is about to die; בְּשִׁילָה

¹ For the etymology of the term cf. C. Levias, *AJP.*, xvi, 23-37, and *AM. JOURN. OF SEM. LANG. AND LIT.*, XIII., pp. 79-80.

² In MSS. one point is sometimes used instead.

³ In MSS. we find frequently instead of the stroke a dot on the last letter.

⁴ א to mark צרר is found only in יִהְיֶה he will be, תִּהְיֶה she will be, which belong to Mišnic Hebrew.

⁵ Cf. also Levy, *Neuh. Wb.*, s. v. יָצַת.

she cooked; **יָצָאָהּ** she is able; **אָמְרָהּ** she says; **יָצָאָהּ** is fit; **יָצָאָהּ** rows; **יָצָאָהּ** are full. The adjective ending *ā'ā* is always spelled **יָצָאָהּ**.

§ 10. **יָצָאָהּ** is generally not indicated. Exceptions are **יָצָאָהּ** = **יָצָאָהּ** who, in order to distinguish it from **יָצָאָהּ** from; and verbs with a guttural as third stem-consonant, and consonantal י as second stem-consonant, in order to mark the *a*-vowel: **יָצָאָהּ** let him jump; **יָצָאָהּ** goes about.

§ 11. The diphthongs *āi* and *āi*, when final, are generally indicated by **יָצָאָהּ**, seldom by **יָצָאָהּ**; when inter-consonantal, by **יָצָאָהּ**, rarely by **יָצָאָהּ**: **יָצָאָהּ** rejoice my soul; **יָצָאָהּ** last (f.); **יָצָאָהּ** stands.

§ 12. Final *au* occurs only in **יָצָאָהּ** not, a contraction of **יָצָאָהּ** + **יָצָאָהּ**; inter-consonantal *au* is indicated by **יָצָאָהּ**: **יָצָאָהּ** treading; **יָצָאָהּ** exactness; **יָצָאָהּ** thorn (§ 80).

§ 13. Vocal *ševā* is frequently denoted by **יָצָאָהּ**, *e. g.*, **יָצָאָהּ** do, **יָצָאָהּ** man, **יָצָאָהּ** tarrying, **יָצָאָהּ** running about. This is especially the case in the imperfect, at times also in the infinitive and participle of **יָצָאָהּ** and other verbs, and was probably pronounced as a full vowel.¹ According to Dalman,² the Sabbioneta edition of Onkelos and the Masora of that Targum frequently vocalize the prefixes of the imperfect and infinitive of **יָצָאָהּ** verbs with *i* followed by *dāghēš* of the first stem-consonant, or, in case of resolution, by *ē*, by analogy with **יָצָאָהּ** verbs. To this he remarks in a note: "The tendency of the forms *q^etāl*, *q^etūl* to pass into *qittāl*, *qittūl*, is also elsewhere to be observed (*cf.* Barth, *Nominalbildung*, 196). . . . Mere lengthening of *ševā* to a full vowel may besides be attributable to careless speaking (*cf.* Safir, *'Eben Sappir*, I. 55 a)." To this I would add, that in the recently discovered oldest system of vocalization we find *i*, *ē*, or *ā* for vocal *ševā*, the latter having no special sign at all.³ It seems, therefore, that the development of *ševā* in Hebrew and Judeo-Aramaic is of a later date than in Syriac.

¹ Cf. C. Levias, *AJP*. XVI. 30 (reprint p. 3). Cf. also Sal. Geiger, *Zion*, II. 6: *Heḥālūq*. II. 153; A. Geiger, *Nachgel. Schriften*, V., Hebr. part, p. 7 sq.

² *Grammatik des jüd.-pal. Aramäisch*, § 70, 3.

³ Cf. Friedlander, *PSBA.*, XVIII., March, 1896, p. 90.

II. PHONOLOGY.

A. CONSONANTS.¹

General Remarks.—§ 14. As in the cognate Aramaic dialects ܕ represents both original ܕ and ܕ; *e. g.*, ܕܗܢܥܝܐ *honey*, ܕܝܩܢܐ *judge*; ܕ: ܕܝܕܐ *this*, ܕܝܩܢܐ *beard*.—ܗ represents both ܗ and ܗ; *e. g.*, ܗܝܠܝܡܐ *wise*, ܗܠܕܐ *dream*, ܗܡܪܐ *ass*; ܗ: ܗܝܠܝܢܐ *another*, ܗܝܠܐ *to sign*; ܗܝܠܐ ²*to break in*.—ܦ represents ܦ and ܦ; *e. g.*, ܦܬܐ *taste, reason*, ܦܬܡܐ *to be unclean*; ܦܬܐ *to sign*; ܦܬܐ *to break in*.—ܥ represents ܥ, ܥ, and ܥ; *e. g.*, ܥܝܢܐ *ring*, ܥܠܐ *world*, ܥܝܢܐ *ten*; ܥܝܢܐ *raven*, ܥܝܢܐ *cloud*, ܥܠܐ *to enter, go in*; ܥܝܢܐ *egg*, ܥܝܢܐ *or* ܥܝܢܐ *to happen, befall*, ܥܝܢܐ *disease*.—ܫ has been retained in ܫܝܪܐܢܐ (also ܫܝܪܐܢܐ) *a certain meal*, ܫܝܪܐ *meat, flesh*, ܫܝܪܐ *to compel*, ܫܝܪܐ *ten*, ܫܝܪܐ *twenty* (but ܫܝܪ, in compound numbers), ܫܝܪܐ *to be satiated*, ܫܝܪܐ *Satan*, ܫܝܪܐ *hatred* (but ܫܝܪܐ *to hate*), ܫܝܪܐ *lip*, ܫܝܪܐ *mustache*, ܫܝܪܐ *to burn, swallow, gulp down*, and perhaps ܫܝܪܐ *a certain bird*; but the latter is doubtful. In other cases it appears as ܫ.—ܦ represents ܦ and ܦ; *e. g.*, ܦܬܐ *to open*, ܦܬܐ *to die*, ܦܬܐ *to drink*; ܦܬܐ *or*, ܦܬܐ *to return*, ܦܬܐ *to weigh*. In the few cases in which these rules are violated, we have loan-words from other dialects.

Pronunciation.—§ 15. The original pronunciation of the various sounds did not, in all probability, differ from the cognate dialects and from Hebrew. But in a later period the pronuncia-

¹ Cf. Haupt, *ZDMG.*, 34, 757 sq.; BA., I., 219 sq.; Dalman, *GJPA.*, 41 sq.

² This word is connected with Arab. ܫܝܪܐ. Its ܫ is infixed as that in ܫܝܪܐ or ܫܝܪܐ.

³ This is the Arab. ܫܝܪܐ *back*, Assy. ܫܝܪܐ *high*. Cf. Arab. ܫܝܪܐ *the top of the mountain* and the use of Arab. ܫܝܪܐ, Heb. ܫܝܪܐ *hill*, the latter connected with ܫܝܪܐ *back*. For a similar change from Arab. ܫܝܪܐ to Aram. ܫܝܪܐ cf. Arab. ܫܝܪܐ and Talm. ܫܝܪܐ, Fruekel, *Fremde.*, 42.

tion of some of the sounds seems to have varied. This is evident from the variations in spelling and from the transcription we find in Arabic for Aramaic loan-words.¹

Gutturals.—§ 16. The Arabs transcribed ה by *ṣ*, ח by *ḥ* or *ḥ̣*, and ע by *ʿ*. The pronunciation of ח was probably, as with all Eastern Arameans, that of the voiceless guttural spirant *ḥ̣*. The words transcribed are either taken from some western dialect or borrowed at a later period.

§ 17. As appears from the Talmud (Meg. 24 *b*, M. Q. 16 *b*, Ker. 8 *a*), the Babylonians did not properly distinguish the gutturals in their pronunciation. The retention of the various gutturals in script is, therefore, merely historic spelling.² Hence, in words whose etymology is not transparent, we frequently find phonetic spelling. Thus, in *חָדָר* *to be cautious*,³ *אֶחָדְךָ* *one another, together*, *הִיָּקַח* *to imprison*, *חָדָר* *to return*, *מְהִילָתָא* *sieve*, *נָהַל* *to sift*, *הַיָּצָא* *shrubby*, and in other words we have ה for etymological ח.⁴ In *אִשְׁלָא* *pounded grain*, *אִשְׁתָּא* *name of a canal*, *אִשְׁתָּא* *a kind of fish*, we have א for ח. In *תִּלַּע* or *תִּלְהָא* *to crack*, we have ח as well as ע for it. In *צָרָח* *to dry up*, we have ח for א. For ח we have א or ע in *אָדָא*, *עָדָא* *this*, *אָפֶךְ* *to turn*; while for ע we have very frequently א: *אָבָא* (Col. MS., Meg. 12 *b*, *גָּבָא* alongside of *אָבָא*) *thicket*, *אָרְבָּא* *twigs*, *אִרְבָּא* *bulrushes*, a. fr. Cf. Noeldeke, *loc. cit.*; also Nestle, *Marginalien u. Materialien*, p. 69.⁵

The fact that post-vocalic ע is pronounced as a vowel shows even more clearly that the retention of the gutturals is in many cases merely graphic. Thus *טַעֲמָא* is pronounced *ṭáimo*. This points to an earlier *טַיִמָא* just as in Assyrian.⁶

¹ Cf. Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, *Introduction*.

² Cf. Noeldeke, *MG.*, 58.

³ This word has nothing to do with *חָדָר* *to shine*, but is the Arab. *ḥarṣ*. For similar metathesis, cf. Barth, *ES.*, 3, 4 (*חָרִישׁ* and *מָחֵן*).

⁴ Cf. also Harkavy's note, p. 356, of his edition of the *TG*.

⁵ A similar promiscuous use of the gutturals is found in Phœnician (Schroeder, *Phœniz. Spr.*, 79 sq.), Samaritan (Uhlemann, *Inst. lingu. Samar.*, I, 13 sq.), Neo-Syriac (Noeldeke, *NSG.*, 56 sq.), and Palest. Aramaic (Dalman, *op. cit.*, 44).

⁶ In the same way Hebrew words like *מַעְלָה*, *מַאֲמָר*, *מַאֲרִיב*, *מַעְמָד*, *מַאֲכָל*, and the like are pronounced *máilo*, *máimor*, *máiriv*, *máimod*, *máichol*. But *מַעְרָכָה* *mārócho*. The pronunciation of the above and similar words is retained also in the plural in spite of the change of accent. Thus, *máimórim*, *máichólim*, *máimódōs*.

Palatals.—§ 18. Initial ף seems to have been sometimes pronounced ם to judge from a few cases where ם is actually written and from the fact that after the precative ל the prefix ף of the imperfect, even if it is followed by an *a*-vowel, is frequently dropped. Thus, אֲבִשׁוֹנָא *dried ears of corn*, אֲבִלָא *willow-basket*, דִּאֲתִיִּלְקִי *that will be born*, Ned. 30 b, דִּאֲנִקֻּשׁ *that they gather*, B. Q. 113 b; ף for ף is also written in a few forms of the verb יָחַב *to sit*, לְשַׁבֵּעַ *let him cause to swear*, לַחֲלִיךָ *let him pass*. On the other hand, we find at times the ף marked as consonantal by doubling it.

§ 19. ג and כ like ב, ד, פ and ת had a double pronunciation as mutae and as spirants. ג is transcribed by the Arabs generally as ج, sometimes as ق; כ is generally غ, sometimes by ج or ك; פ is כ, כ is خ. So we find also in the Talmud פִּיכְלִי and קִיכְלִי *partridges*, כִּרְכַּשׁ and קִרְכַּשׁ *to knock*, פִּרְכָּשָׁא and קִרְכָּשָׁא *shepherd's bell*, פִּרְכָּשָׁא = קִרְכָּשָׁא *head*, from כָּפַע *to bend, nod*, properly *noddle*; cf. Hebr. קָדַד וּ קָדָקַר; שִׁרַּק and שִׁרָּק *to jump*, written promiscuously. ג is today not distinguished from א.

Linguals.—§ 20. ה is rendered in Arabic by ح, ד by ذ; ת by ט, ת by ث. In traditional pronunciation ד is pronounced like ה and ת like ט. ט is not distinguished in modern pronunciation from ת. The ר was evidently a lingual, as it could be doubled.¹

Sibilants.—§ 21. ז is ז; ס and ש are س; צ is ص, and ש, ש, rarely س. In the Talmud ש is usually carefully distinguished, while the other sibilants are at times used indiscriminately. Thus, פִּתְיָא and פִּתְיָא *street-well* (V. L., B. B. 8 a); אֲתִקּוּלָא *flipping*; אֲתִיִּתָא, אֲתִיִּתָא *rows*, F. MS., B. B. 12 a; אֲתִיִּתָא, אֲתִיִּתָא *a certain quarter of meat*; אֲתִיִּתָא, אֲתִיִּתָא *crceper, vine*; אֲתִיִּתָא, אֲתִיִּתָא *car of corn*; צִיִּר, צִיִּר *binds*, M. MS., AZ., 28 b; עֲשִׂיִּתָא, עֲשִׂיִּתָא *pot*; עֲקַס for עֲקַן *to sting*; אֲתִיִּתָא and אֲתִיִּתָא *a certain meal*; עֲשִׂיִּר and עֲשִׂיִּר *twenty*; רַפְּשׁ and רַפְּשׁ *to tread*.

Labials.—§ 22. ב is rendered in Arabic transcription by ب; ך by פ, sometimes by و. ך and ב are rendered by و and מ;

¹ Cf. Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, 86, and אֲרִיִּצִי, *HG.*, 239.

פ by פ, sometimes by ב. With the exception of two or three words where ך is written for etymological ב, the Talmud retains ב. But ב and ך are written indiscriminately in foreign words. ב and פ are sometimes written indiscriminately. פופשׂי and פופשׂי a species of tamed doves, פפוי and פפוי excrements, גלגל, גלגל eel.

Dāghēš and Rāphē.—§ 23. The rules for the pronunciation of בגדכפת as tenues, or mediae, and as spirantized are about the same as in Hebrew and Syriac; but the following may be noticed:

a) Unlike the Syriac, בגדכפת has no dāghēš after a diphthong; e. g., פיתא, איבו.

b) The ת in the feminine ending תא is often not spirantized when a vowelless consonant precedes, even if that consonant be preceded by a long vowel; e. g., שאלתא.

c) בגדכפת are not spirantized to avoid difficulty of pronunciation; e. g., שותפתא, שותיקותא, אפהישו, סתבא, מסתבא, for שותפתא, שותיקותא, אפהישו, סתבא, מסתבא.

d) פ is pronounced hard in the proper names פפא Papa and פפי Papi.

CHANGES OF CONSONANTS.—*Gutturals.*—§ 24. א changes to א in the active participle Qal of א verbs and of verbs following their analogy. Also in the Paʿēl and Ithpaʿal of verbs א. Thus, קיים stands, ציית listens, מייט dies, צייר binds, פייט compels, הייט feels pain, צייל enters, שייט asks, שייט he left, omitted, אשתייר remained. The forms קאיים, צאיים, etc., are only graphical variants. The א must have also been pronounced א in אאית interstice, and אאין Alephs. Notice also שייט remainder. Verbs אא have passed entirely into verbs אא.

§ 25. ה changes to ו or ו in ונא, ונא he, she, lit. this one (§ 177), קנא to be blunt, תונה to be astonished. In the last two cases we may have metathesis rather than phonetic change. תונה may also stand for תונה. ונא rich landlord, ונא.

§ 26. ה appears frequently as ה: ה foliage of a palm, Arab. حوص; ונא thorn, Syr. ܚܝܬ; ונא a proper name = ונא;

¹ Cf. Syriac ܚܝܬ = ܚܝܬ and Palestinian אריבת = אהבת, Dalman, 69.

הָיָה to return, Hebr. הָיָה; cf. §§ 16, 17. Sometimes it interchanges with a sibilant: הָלִיקוּסְתָּא, סְלִיקוּסְתָּא.¹

§ 27. צ regularly changes to ס when there is another צ (= ض) in the same word: אָרַע = عرض to happen; אָרַע = אָרַע = Arab. ضبع hyena. Cf. also § 17. In גָּחַךְ to laugh, we have ג for צ. Whenever צ corresponds to Arab. ض it must have been originally = غ. This would explain more easily its interchange with ג and ק.² Verbs לָצַח have in a few instances passed into verbs לָחַץ.

Palatals.—§ 28. ג interchanges with ק (§ 18), with כ: גָּמְתָּא, קָמְתָּא door-step; cf. § 51. In הָיָה couple, the ג becomes ה, as in modern Arabic and Syriac. It changes perhaps to ד in שָׁדַר, שָׁדַר to send. But the latter is more probably = صَدَرَ. In אָפִי for גָּפִי (§ 174) we have the change of ג to א.

§ 29. כ and ק frequently interchange: קָרְשִׁינִי, כָּרְשִׁינִי vetch; קְרוֹשְׁיָתָא, פְּרוֹשְׁיָתָא dealers in vegetables; פְּרוֹשְׁיָתָא, קְרוֹשְׁיָתָא balls, cakes. The interchange with ב frequently found in the texts is probably due to graphical errors.

§ 30. Intervocalic א changes to ס in the adjective ending אָרַע. Thus, בְּתָרָא the last, קָמָא the first, לִיבָא the Libyan, for *בְּתָרָא, *קָמָא, *לִיבָא.³ In verbs: אִתְשַׁמְתָּא she was healed, Keth., 62 b; אִתְשַׁמְתָּא were changed, Col. MS., MQ., 25 b. But generally intervocalic א is elided.

Dentals.—§ 31. ד usually corresponds to Arab. د and ذ; but occasionally ת appears, even when it corresponds to د. Thus, הָ, הָ then, now (§ 182), זָבַח to slaughter⁴; הָרָא, הָרָא loss; מְדָלָא, מְדָלָא dripping; הָרָא, הָרָא twigs; וְרָדָא, וְרָדָא sorb-plant-

¹ Cf. Syriac ܡܠܝܟܘܬܐ = מלכות, Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*, add. ad p. 112. Hebrew מַלְכֻת may stand for שַׁבְּעֻלַת, but with regard to its Assyrian equivalent, ܡܠܝܟܘܬܐ may be original. Cf. prothetic ܡܠܝܟܘܬܐ in Syr. ܡܠܝܟܘܬܐ.

² For this change cf. Bibl. Aramaic אָרַע earth; in some dialects, cf. D. H. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Nöldeke, *MG.*, § 66; Munk, *TM.*, p. 41, n. 127. Ethiopic ṣaqqayya, to cry, tament, is a Saph'el of *qôqayya = ضوضى. One is tempted to compare also Judeo-German "koiken" to kowl, although it is difficult to see the historical connection. Cf. also ברבב, *HG.*, ed. princ. = בצבבן cast bubbles. Similar is the interchange of ד and ק: Hebr. שָׁקֵד, Syr. ܡܠܝܟܘܬܐ almond. Cf. § 36.

³ Cf. Jaeger, *B.A.*, I., 489, 459.

⁴ Cf. Nöldeke, *MG.*, 43; D. H. Müller, *Inscr. von Seuschirli*, 40 sq., 65.

tion; טַרְדִּינָא, טַרְדִּינָא wardrobe; זְבוּרָא bee, Hebr. אֶבְרָה; אֶזְלָא young gazelle. In דָּא דָּא (§185) it corresponds to Arab. ضَعُ ضَعُ.

In the following examples we have not an interchange of ל and ד, but a rare syntactical use of ד, which can be paralleled in Assyrian: לֹא דְמִימְרָא does it not mean to say, Col. MS., Zeb. 50 a; וְתוֹרִי דְרִידָא וְחִמְרִי דְעִסְקָא and oxen for ploughing and dates for trade, Sabb. 19 b.² In the first example there may also be dissimilation due to the preceding לֹא.³

§32. ט usually corresponds to Arab. ط and ظ, but occasionally it interchanges with ז; thus, מַצִּי and מַצִּי. In טלע it corresponds to 'Omanee Arabic ضلع to limp.⁴

§33. ת sometimes interchanges with ד: בְּנֵהְתָּהּ the Bagdadian; קַרְדִּינִי, קַרְדִּינִי; לִפְתָּא, לִפְתָּא turnip. Cf. also §21.

Liquids.—§34. ל interchanges with נ in the precativ participle of the imperfect: נְהִי let him be, for לְהִי; בְּדִינִי sufficient for irrigation, H. MS., B. B. 8 a, for בְּדִינִי.⁵ לִימָא, Latin nummus, coin. Cf. also §36.—עֲלָא leech appears also as עֲלָא.

§35. נ changes to ר in רִשְׁפָּא fowler. Compare also טַמְרָא to hide with Hebr. טָמַן. A similar change would be in בֶּרֶךְ son, בֶּרֶךְ daughter, if they are identical with בֶּן, בֵּת; but this is doubtful. Final ך changes to ם in מַנְשִׁיתִּים he makes water, O. MS., Sabb. 134 a.

§36. ר appears frequently as ד. This may be simply a graphical error. But in view of the fact that the change of ר to

¹ Cf. also Arab. دَبُورٌ alongside of دَبُورٌ.

² Cf. the variant in the פתשגן to Onkelos, Lev. 15:33 וְלִדְדָאִיב for וְלִדְדָאִיב, and in later literature: בְּדִינִי = בְּדִינִי HG. 29; דְּרִידָא = דְּרִידָא ibid. 108; דְּעִסְקָא = דְּעִסְקָא ibid. 373.

³ The stock example for the interchange of ל and ד has always been אָזַר = אָזַר. But from the fact that the word occurs only in two forms, אָזַר and אָזַר, for both genders, and only in the sense of the present, and used only in the set phrase אָזַר לְטַעְמִיהָ and only in a metaphorical sense, it is evident that such use of the word is only a piece of school-wisdom, based on a wrong interpretation of a biblical passage. A root אָזַר is a mere fiction of our lexicographers. Later Hebrew literature abounds in parallels of a similar kind. Suffice it to point to פִּלְגֵּם to disclose, קִנְיָא end, and לִבּ מִגֵּנָה grief. A full collection of such words would be of considerable interest.

⁴ Cf. בִּרְטָא egg in Jer. Šebu., III. 34 d; but this may also be equal to בִּרְטָא with change of ת to ט.

⁵ For the same phenomenon cf. TG., ed. Harkavy, §55. Cf. also Syriac ܢܬܢ and Hebrew-Aram. נתן to give.

ר is attested in living speech,¹ such a change may in some cases be phonetic. The physiological kinship between ר and ד seems to be the same as between ע (= غ) and ض.

ר changes to ל in תִּלְתֵּי two, תִּלְיִס twelve (§ 136).

§ 37. ז. On interchange with ד cf. § 31. ז stands for Arab. ض in בִּזֵּז to split²; זָזְזָה clucking hen (connected with זָזַח to make noise, croak); זָזָה to heat is perhaps Arab. حَضَأ; בִּזֵּז, Arab. جاز to pass through, cross, is evidently connected with جَاضَ, كَضَضَ, جَضَّ, جَاضَ.

§ 38. ס stands for ض in סִבֵּר to wait, hope for. On the other hand סוֹבֵר to cup corresponds to Arab. سَبَرَ to examine a wound. The latter is connected with ثَبَرَ to break open (said of an ulcer).⁴ For its interchange with other sibilants cf. § 21.

§ 39. צ interchanges with other sibilants (§ 21), with ט (§ 32). It stands for Arab. ض in צָרַךְ to be in need, בָּצַר to be few, צָנִץ to press together,⁵ צוֹיֵץ to cry, shout = ضَوْصَى, בִּבְבִּיץ to cast bubbles.

¹ Maclean, *Gram. of Vernacular Syr.*, § 121. For Ethiopic cf. Prātorius in *BA.*, I., p. 45.

² From an original بضع all the forms with ז, צ, ק and ד as second stem-consonant, which appear in the various Semitic languages, can be derived.

³ Cf. also Hebrew צִנִּים (?) locust with جُضْم glutton; Mišnic זְבִירִית receptacle with صَبَّار. Through the intermediate form זִבֵּר we get the form זְבִיר book, mentioned in the Talmud as used among Persian Jews. Cf. Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, 248; Barth, *E. S.*, 26, 52. The development of meaning from צָבַר to put in order, צָבַר collect, to אֲצִבָּרָה book is similar to that in אֲצִבָּרָה book from אֲצִבָּרָה to sew together. Cf. later Hebrew אֲצִבָּרָה book, composition, and אֲצִבָּרָה to compose, write a book (vide Harkavy, *Leben u. Werke d. Saadja Gaon*, p. ק"ח sq.). There seems, therefore, to be no ground for doubting the Arabic origin of אֲצִבָּרָה as Fraenkel does (*op. cit.*, 249).

סוֹבֵר (Targ.) to bear, carry, is closely connected with the idea of endurance, hope. The same connection we find in סָבַל (Targ.) to carry, suffer, endure. Arab. زَبَلَ, Assy. za bālu (Barth, *ES.*, 50). Interesting variants to סוֹבֵר we find in the Targ. to Psalm 96, 8: סוֹבֵר וְשׁוֹבֵר; cf. Levy, *TWb.* s. v. סָבַר. The form סוֹבֵר corresponds to Arab. صَبَرَ, and סוֹבֵר, to an Arabic by-form ثَبَرَ. Similarly we find Hebrew שִׁבֵּר grain = Arab. صَبْرَة, a by-form of صَبْرَة pile, store of grain.

⁵ Barth, *ES.*, 1, 5.

§ 40. ש interchanges with ת in שקל, תקל, *to weigh, be worth*. With ס in בשי, בסי *to wash*.

Labials.—§ 41. ב. On interchange of ב with ו and פ cf. § 22. In בישן for בישן *Bêth Še'au* we have ו for ב. עקב = Hebr. עֶקֶב, Arab. عَقَبَ.

§ 42. מ. Assyrian מ appears sometimes as ב, sometimes as ו: עליו *upon*, ארץ *west*,¹ עץ *cypress*.² מ changes to ו in וְהָיָה inf. Aph'el of וָרָחַץ *to return*, B. Q. 81 b, and in מְשַׁלֵּחַ *melting*, Sabb. 110 b; in the plural endings of pronouns, nouns and verbs. It stands for ו in מְשַׁלֵּחַ *terebinth*.

§ 43. ו. Initial ו has been retained only in the following words: וָו *Wau*, וָו *woe! alas!* וָו *proper* (alongside of וָו), וָו *rose* and its derivatives, וָו *meeting*, וָו *tart*, and in a few proper names. In all other cases it has changed to י.

DOUBLING.

§ 44. Doubling takes place in traditional pronunciation in about the same way as in Syriac:

a) As characteristic of certain grammatical formations; *e. g.*, in the Intensive stems.

b) To show a double consonant; *e. g.*, מְמַלֵּךְ, מְמַלֵּךְ.

c) As compensation for an assimilated consonant; *e. g.*, מְשַׁלֵּחַ *year*, מְשַׁלֵּחַ *thou*.

d) As compensation for a shortened long vowel; *e. g.*, מְשַׁלֵּחַ for מְשַׁלֵּחַ *upon*, מְמַלֵּךְ (§ 182).³

e) To lengthen artificially a short word; *e. g.*, מְשַׁלֵּחַ *mouth*, מְשַׁלֵּחַ *father*.

f) To preserve a short vowel; *e. g.*, מְשַׁלֵּחַ *tongue*, Arab. لِسَان. מְשַׁלֵּחַ *bridge*, Assy. titûru.

g) Doubling is retained at the end of a word in מְשַׁלֵּחַ *thou*, in the pronominal ending of the participle, מְשַׁלֵּחַ *thou sayest*, and in רַב *Rabbi*, usually pronounced רַבב.⁴

¹ The Assyrian equivalent is amurrû (cf. Jensen, *ZA.*, X., 339 sq.) and מְשַׁלֵּחַ stands for מְשַׁלֵּחַ.

² TG., ed. Harkavy, § 49, has מְשַׁלֵּחַ for מְשַׁלֵּחַ *Lamed*. מְשַׁלֵּחַ *to see* may also be connected with the Syriac מְשַׁלֵּחַ.

³ The transcription of proper names in the old versions and in Josephus shows us a number of similar cases; *e. g.*, Saddûk, Abessalôm, Abennêr, Annân, for מְשַׁלֵּחַ, מְשַׁלֵּחַ, מְשַׁלֵּחַ. But, in cases like Abessalôm and Abennêr, the versions may have taken them to be composed of מְשַׁלֵּחַ (= מְשַׁלֵּחַ) + מְשַׁלֵּחַ or מְשַׁלֵּחַ.

⁴ Cf. Nöldeke, *SG.*, § 23, H.

Resolution of Doubling.—§ 45. To judge from the cognate dialects, resolution of doubling must have frequently taken place. In a case of resolution, the preceding short vowel was either dropped, or lengthened, or retained intact by the insertion of a liquid. In the case of vowel-lengthening we can only know that a resolution has taken place when the vowel changes its quality, as from חורק to צרי, or from פתח to קמץ, not otherwise.

INSERTION OF CONSONANTS.—*Insertion of a Liquid.*—§ 46.

a) **אמפֿוֹדא** : **מ** *nut.*

b) **נַח** **חַגְגָּה** *feast*; **כֶּזֶה** *pot*; **גָּזַל** *to roll*; **אֶסְתֵּרָה** *vice-roy*, Pers. *ustadâr*, and other words.

c) ר: In the so-called Par'el forms: בָּרַזַל to shake, גָּרַבַל to mix, גָּרַדַם to cut, הִרְזַק to imprison, שָׂרַבַב to let hang down, שָׂרַבַט to stretch oneself flat, פָּרַפַש or קָרַקַש to strike, tingle, פִּרְנָשָׂא or קָרְנָשָׂא shepherd's bell, פִּרְנָשָׂא clod, הִרְדָּקַא school-boy, קוּרַקְבֵן crop, crawl.¹

NOTE.—In words of foreign origin ש seems to be similarly inserted: **בִּשְׁקַר** *he searched*, Mandaic the same; **אִישׁ־סֶפֶּא** *saddler*, Assy. *aškapu* = Arab **أَكْف**; cf. Assy. *iškaru* = *ikkaru* = **אִפְרָא** *peasant*, all before a *k*-sound.

Insertion of ה.—§ 47. A ה is sometimes inserted in short words in order to make them triconsonantal. Thus אָבֹהֶן *fathers*, parents, plural of אָב *bond-maid*; אֲמִידָה *the status of bond-maid*; גִּילְיָה *flashes* (גִּלְיָה), מִנְהָא *mint*; שְׁלֵהָ *end*; אֲסָמְחָתָא *flanks*; אֲמִידָתָא *mothers*.

Insertion of a Semivowel.—§ 48. In the plural of the noun न् or ण् is in a few cases inserted before the ending of नन् to avoid an hiatus.²

ASSIMILATION.

§ 49. A consonant may be assimilated to a preceding or following consonant either entirely or partially. In the latter case the partially assimilated consonant may influence the adjoining consonant so that the resulting assimilation is reciprocal.

Complete Assimilation.—§ 50. 1. The **ŋ** is progressively assimilated in the reflexive stems of verbs **ŋ**—frequently in

¹ Cf. Fleischer in *Lery's Dict.*, IV., 484 b.

² Cf. Sachau, *Skizze des Fellachi-Dialekts von Mosul*, p. 13.

the Ithpe'el, more rarely in the Ithpa'al.¹ Thus, אָתָּמָר *was said*, אִיתָּסִי *was forbidden*, אָתָּנָה *he sighed*, אָתָּמָרָא *was said*, אִיתָּסִי *was healed*, הָיִילִידוֹ *that have been born* (Ned. 30 b), לִיבְסוּמִי *to cheer oneself up with wine* (Meg. 7 b, Col. MS. לֹא־בְסוּמִי), לְקַלְקוּלִי (M. MS. Er. 49 a, eds. לֹא־קַלְקוּלִי), אַלְתָּר *on the spot*, at once, for אֶתֶר. In the last word the ל is not doubled. מִנָּאן *whence* for מִנְּאָן, from מִן אָן; רַבִּינָא a proper name for רַבִּינָא = רַב אֲבִינָא.

2. ה is regressively assimilated in אֵינִין *they*, הֵנִי *these*, בִּתְּרֵיהֶן *their being dispersed* (eds. A. Z., 10 b), מִשְׁתַּלְּתִיחַ *you are tired* (A. Z., 72 b); אֲדוּמִי *to cut to pieces*.

3. ה is assimilated in מִסְתָּחָא *bath* (orig. מִסְתָּחָא, § 90); מִפָּא *shovel*, לִישְׁלוֹפִינְהוּ O. MS., Sabb. 98 b, שְׁלַחָה; תַּתָּא *below*; פּוּתָא a certain dish (= פּוּתָחָא).

4. ט is assimilated in אִיתְּבִידָא *was done*, Col. MS., Zeb. 60 a, שֶׁב *seven*, which stands for שֶׁב* = šabbu = šab'u. Similarly תִּשְׁ *nine*, V. L. Taan. 13 b, for tiššu = tiš'u.² אֶפָּא *hyena*, for אֶפָּא (§ 27). אִיבִי (= אִיבִיעִי) Col. MS., Zeb. 6 ab, 14 b, תִּיבִי *ibid.* 20 b; מִיבִי *ibid.* 18 b. By progressive assimilation מִפָּרָא *ferry*, מִפָּרָא *ferry-man*.

5. ל is assimilated in many forms of the verb סָלַק *to go up*, *ascend*: לִיפֹס, תִּיפֹס, for לִיטָלֵק, תִּיטָלֵק; in אֶל־ *upon* (§ 170), דִּקְחָא *sharp-shooter* וְזִק־ or זִלֵּק.

6. נ is assimilated in אַתָּ *thou*, אַתּוֹן *ye*, אִתְּחָא *woman*, אֶפָּא *face*, עִזָּא *goat*, אֶפּוֹבָא *flute*, שְׁתָּא *year*, מִשּׁוּל *on account of*, מִסְקָן V. L. Pes. 3 b, in verbs פִּנ־, and in verbs לִנ־ before אָן, הָן; also in מִן־ *from*.

7. ט is assimilated in מִנְּשָׂא *heap*, M. MS., Er. 14 b, קָמָא *first*, קָמִי *before*, שִׁתָּא *six*, שִׁתִּין *sixty*; אֶל־ *until* (§ 182).

8. ת is assimilated in יְקִיטוּ *ye hold*, eds. Pes. 110 b; שְׁמִיתִיהָ *I put him under the ban*, M. Q. 17 a; אֶנְהָתָא *hast pleased*, Hull 137 b; אִיכָא *there is* (אִיתָא כָּא) (sic) *there is not* (= לֹא אִיתָא כָּא); in the reflexive stems not עִי or פִּי before dentals or sibilants, and, by analogy, before all consonants: אִינְבִין

¹ Cf. Haupt, *SFG.*, 10, 1; *AEI.*, 10.

² Cf. Haupt, *SFG.*, 10 1.

was sold, אִידֶּהר took heed, אִישׁ־בִּשָּׁא was persuaded, אִתְּנֶהר they made profit, a. o.

9. **נ** is assimilated in תַּמְגָּר merchant, Assyrian tamgaru; אֲדִיגָלָא artisan, Assyrian dimgallu, with prothetic א and inserted ו; שָׁלָמָא = Assyrian šalamtū.

Partial Assimilation.—§ 51. a) א is partially assimilated to ט, צ, and כ, and becomes ע in טַיִר Arab. (طائي) tanners, פֹּתְיָא pot,¹ שִׁכְלָא a measure.²

b) ה is assimilated to שׁ in פִּשְׁזָר joist, Assyrian gušūru. כ to ז and ח in זְהִיבָתָא glass, Heb. זְהִיבִית; פִּתְיָלָא for פִּתְיָלָא a certain bird. ק to ר in רִצְצָא twist, קִרְצָא.³

c) ת is partially assimilated to ז in the reflexive stems of verbs זָחַר he took heed, אִתְּדַקַּק he attended, and without transposition אִתְּדַקַּק it seemed small, 'En Ya'aq. Sanh. 95a. To ל and ר: in חֹלְטָא hod, חֹטְטָא small, (§ 56), בִּיטְרִי name of a place. To צ: in טַצְצָא excuse, טַצְצָא white spot, and in verbs פִּצְצָא was necessary, אִצְצָא he grieved. To ח: in טַח to press. To ד: in לְחֻדְדָּל Alfasi B. B. 8a.⁵ To ק: in קַטַּל to kill, קַטַּנָּא small, קִישְׁטָא truth.

d) ס is assimilated to a liquid in קַרְדָּלָא cradle, טַיִדָּא proud,⁶

Reciprocal Assimilation.—§ 52. a) Here belong מִזְנָא or מִזְנָא (§ 92), Hebrew מִסָּה and מִזְנָה, ⁷ ס first assimilated to ז, then כ to ז. Similarly בִּזְנָא for פִּתְנָא bundle. But they may also be two parallel forms. In זִרְדָּא outfit, Assyrian çubātu, zubātu, dress, צ is assimilated to ב, then ת to ז, ב becomes ר. צִבֵּית to prepare still occurs as variant to זִבֵּית.

¹ Cf. Fraenkel, 69.

² Cf. Palestinian אִשְׁטָא Aph. of טַח; עִשְׁטָמָה something to taste, אִשְׁטָמָה flunk, קִשְׁלָא digestion, קִשְׁלָא קִשְׁלָא, καθάρισις, קִשְׁלָא white. In later literature קִשְׁפָּא concerns. Arab. عسقلون Ascalon. Assimilation of כ to ע occurs in קִשְׁפָּא retention.

³ Cf. קִרְצָא קִרְצָא.

⁴ Cf. Barth, *ES.*, 36 sq.

⁵ Cf. Targ. and Syr. אִזְרָדָל. In later Hebrew I have met with אִזְרָדָל.

⁶ טַיִדָּא or טַיִדָּא is in form and etymology identical with Arab. طَشَان, from طاش to be out of mind. For the development of meaning cf. קִדָּר proud and Arab. اِسْتَدَهَرَ to be insane.

⁷ Cf. Barth, *ES.*, 33, 51.

b) A sonant and a surd sometimes change to a surd and a sonant. **סֹפֶרֶת** *sulphur* (Hebrew) appears as **סֹפֶרֶת**. The pronunciation was probably in both cases alike.¹

DISSIMILATION.²

§ 53. In words containing two identical or similar sounds one of them is usually dissimilated when the word is in frequent use.

1. **ל** dissimilates to **ד** in **פֶּדֶשׁ־לֶחֶם** *pepper*, Col. MS., Meg. 7 b; to **נ** in **נֶחֱמָא** *bread*; **לֶחֶם** *to* (§ 177); to **ר** in **רֶגֶל־לֶחֶם** *slice*, **אַרְמֶלֶחָא** *widow* (through an intermediate ***אַלְמֶלֶחָא**); but the stem may be **רמל**; **מִזְרַבְלִיתָא** *mixture of white and black*.

2. **נ** dissimilates to **ר** in **רַתִּין**, **רַתִּין** *two* (but **תַּנְנָא** *second*).

3. **ר** dissimilates to **ל** in **לִרְפָּלָא** *wild ox*; **רֶגֶל־לֶחֶם** *rocket*.

4. **ד** dissimilates to **ת** in **בְּגֵד־תַּעֲרָה** *the Bagdadean*. To **ל** in **לֹא־יִדְבֵּק אָנָּה בִּזְרֵיהָ** *that I should be connected with his descendants*. M. MS., Pes. 49 a.

5. **ט** dissimilates to **ת** in **בֹּשְׂמִיתָא** *spark*, alongside of **בֹּשְׂמִיטָא**.

VANISHING OF CONSONANTS.

§ 54. a) Initial consonants. **א** is dropped in **יְהִי**, **יְהִי** *one*, **אֲרַא** *another*, and in the imperative of **אָתָּה** *to come* and **אָזַל** *to go*.³

נ is dropped in some forms of the imperative Qal of verbs **פִּנֵּן**, following the analogy of the imperfect.

§ 55. b) Within the word. **א** is elided in contractions: **לִית** *there is not*, from **לֹא אֵית**; **הֵלִין** *those*, from **הֵלֵין**. It quiesces in a preceding vowel: **תִּרְפָּא** *form*, from **תִּרְפָּא**; **רִיפָּא** *wild bull*, **רִישָׁא** *head*, especially in **אָ** verbs. It is also elided in the adjective ending **־אָה** (§ 82).

ה is syncopated in **יְהִי**, **יְהִי** (§ 124).

ה quiesces in a preceding vowel in **תִּרְפָּא** *favoring*, **תִּרְפָּא** *sprout*, **אֲנֵן** *we*, **יְהִי** *one another*, **אֲרִישָׁנָא** a certain bird = Assy. *aḥarsānu*, or *aḥursānu*, Syr. **ܐܚܪܫܢܐ**, Arab. **وَرَّشَان**, *ringdove*. It is syncopated in **תַּחְתָּא** *beneath, below*.

¹ Cf. Haupt, *BA.*, I., 3; W. B. H. (*Hebraica*, I., 231).

² Cf. Haupt, *AEV.*, XII., 17-20; W. B. H. (*Hebraica*, I., 224 sq.).

³ Cf. Hebr. **יְהִי**, **יְהִי**; Arab. **مُرَّ**, **مُرَّ**; Syriac **ܡܪܪܐ**, **ܡܪܪܐ**.

§ 56. ע quiesces in a preceding vowel in some verbs whose second stem-consonant is ע: דִּינָן *to stick in*, דִּוֵּת *to exude*, סִיֵּר *to visit*, תִּוֵּר *to be awake* (secondary root of עִיר), עִנָּה *to double*, Arab. ضَعَفَ. It quiesces also in a few verbs פִּעַר *to do*, Col. MS., Zeb. 60 a, מִיָּקַם *to pronounce incorrectly*, Ned. 16 a, and in זִטַּר *small*, from זִטַּר = זִטַּר (§ 56), i. e., זִטַּר with infixed ת. It is syncopated in אִטְבָּא *ring*, רִיפְתָּא *bread*, and quiesces in the compound numerals אֶחָדָסִי *eleven*, אֶחָדָסִי *twelve*, etc. (§ 136). In בִּזְנָן *we want*, Col. MS. Zeb. *passim*, for בִּזְנָן.

§ 57. ג is lost in זָוֵא *pair, scissors*, and אָבִי *at, upon* (§ 174). The *g* in this case first became *g*^u, then the separate elements *g* or *u* were lost.¹ Perhaps belong here שִׁנֵּשׁ and שִׁבֵּשׁ?

§ 58. ל quiesces in קוֹמֵר *καλαμάριον*, M. MS., Sabb. 80 a.

ר quiesces in the preceding vowel in קוֹקְנִי *worms*, קֶרֶק, in the compound בִּזְרָא for זִרְעָא בִּיר (or origin. בִּזְרָא from זִרְעָא), and in אִמִּינָא *I say*.

ב is dropped in a few participles of Pa"el: שִׁבֵּשׁ *trim the vine*, B. M. 73 a; יִבְבֵּינָן Yeb. 41 b; סִלְקִי M. MS., B. Q. 48 a; קִדְמֵינָן Pes. 53 b, and others.

נ is syncopated in מִנְשִׁיתִיהָ *makes water (sibi)*.

§ 59. ד is dropped in אָנָא *ear*. (If Fleischer's opinion given in Levy's *Neuh. Wb.*, III., 312 b, that ד interchanges with ר is true, then אָנָא may come from אָנָא = אָנָא).² In זִרְתָּא *sorb-bush*, for זִרְתָּא.³

§ 60. c) Final consonants. א, ו, and י quiesce in the preceding vowel in stems אָל, וָל, and יָל. The two former then pass into לָ. The י appears in a few forms, especially before suffixes. ה and נ are generally retained, but are treated in a few verbs and nouns like א. Thus, גָּנָה = גָּנָה *to rumble*, ע in מִנְתָּא *mint*, אִרְיָא *argument*, בִּדִּי *to break*, טָבִי *to sink*, פָּדִי *to wound*, פָּסִי *to spoil*, שָׁנִי *to slant*, שָׁקִי *to sink*, אִשְׁתַּמּוּדִי *to have identified*.

¹ This phenomenon is frequent in Indo-European languages. Cf. also Fraenkel, *op. cit.* XXII., 107.

² For a change of ד to ב, cf. Praetorius, *B.A.*, I., 44, and Maclean, § 106.

³ Perhaps also in the Palestinian proper name זִלְתָּא for ילְדָתָא *child*, as in Syriac. But it may also be a shortening of אִלְתָּא or contraction of רִעְלָתָא. Cf. also §§ 116, 113.

§ 61. ר quiesces in some forms of the imperfect and imperative Qal: אִינָא, תִּינָא, לִינָא, יִינָא; אִינָא, / אמר to say.¹ In שִׁנָּא he sent, M. MS., Ber. 42a, סָנָא he locked, H. MS., B. M., 86a; in זָטָא small, אֲשֵׁי Asher; perhaps also in אִינָא is superfluous, but this may be אִינָא (M. MS., Sabb. 64a).

§ 62. ל is dropped in some forms of אָזַל to go: אָזַל he went, M. MS., B. M. 101b, 103b, Col. MS., Pes. 111b; אָזַל he goes, Col. MS., Pes. 110b; יֵינִי let him go, K. MS., Mem. 2a; יֵי go, Col. MS., Pes. 104b.² In שָׁקָא he took, Qidd., 81b, M. MS., A. Z. 3a; שָׁקִי takes, MSS. Sukk. 52b. In קָלִי for קָלִיל light.

§ 63. נ is dropped in the dual and plural of verb and noun, תִּנְרִי, תִּנְרִי, תִּנְרִי, two, מֵאֲנִי two hundred, אָמְרִי they say, בֵּי between, פִּי for בֶּן, דִּי for דֶּה; מֵאֵי for מֵאֵנָא (§ 90). The feminine plural ending תֵּי loses its נ only in one case: לִיתְצַדָּה they may be caught, M. MS., Sabb. 43b.

§ 64. ד is dropped in דִּיאָבֵד for דִּיעָבֵד (§ 159).³

ח is dropped in בֵּי house, שַׁבָּא Sabbath, week;⁴ in the absolute state of feminine nouns: אַחֲרִי or אַחֲרִי another, אַחֲרִי matrimony; is not retained even before suffixes in לֵאחֲרֵיהּ to do it late, Sabb. 119a, לֵאחֲרֵיהּ to heal him, לִנְפִיגֵיהּ to try them, Raši Sanh. 101b; and is usually apocopated in the sing. fem. of verbs in the participles and the perfect.

§ 65. ב is apocopated in אָגַי again, נָשָׂא blew, MSS., B. M. 85b, 86a, Raši Taan. 24a; נָסִי marries, Col. MS., M. Q. 3b, נָסִי Col. MS., Zeb. 5a.

§ 66. מ is dropped in many forms of קָיֵם to stand: אִיקֵי, אִיקֵי, לִיקֵי, לִיקֵי; קֵי stand thou, Col. MS., M. Q. 25b, M. MS., Sanh. 95a; קָא, קָא, stands; קָיֵא I stand, Col. MS., Zeb. 19a, מִזְקֵא I explain, *ibid.* Pes. 90a; אִוקֵיחֵא I explained it, *ibid.* M. Q. 25a. Here the suffixed forms are derived from the apocopated forms.

TRANSPOSITION OF CONSONANTS.—§ 67. בְּחֻזָּא, בְּחֻזָּא desolation; מִדְּרָא, מִדְּרָא water-course; טַפְטָא, טַפְטָא chest; קִיפּוּפָא, קִיפּוּפָא shuttle; and others.

¹ Cf. אָמַא says, 'Anān, quoted by Harkavy in *MWJ.*, 1893, p. 225.

² The verb אָזַל to heat is perhaps an Aph'el of אָזַל. For the development of meaning cf. Hebrew הֶעֱלָה, הִסָּק, and Syriac שָׁנַר. Cf. also § 37.

³ Cf. בְּדִיאָבֵא *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 181.

⁴ Cf. C. Levias, *AJP.*, XVI., 34.

B. VOWELS.

IMÂLÈ.—*Pathah*.—§ 68. Original *ă* in closed and intermediate syllables frequently changes to *i* (or *ē*). Thus, פִּסְחָא *Passover*, בִּשְׂרָא *meat*, שִׁטָּנָא *Satan*, רִיגְלָא *foot*, קִמְחָא *flour*, זִמְנָא *time*, גִּנְחָא *garden*;¹ in the preformatives of the imperfect Qal; in the first syllable of the perfect Pa'ēl when the second stem-consonant is ר or a guttural: *e. g.* קָרַב *brought near*, מִיַּעַט *lessened*, B. Q. 51 *b*; צִיעַר *vexed* Qidd. 70 *b*, Ned. 62 *a*; פִּירַשׁ *separated himself*, Sôt. 4 *b*; נִיחַם *roared*, Hull. 59 *b*; in the second stem-syllable of the imperfect in Pa'ēl לִיתִּיהָ *let him lower it*, Sabb. 67 *a*; לְצִינָהּ *let him cool her off*, B. B. 74 *b*; in the enclitic pronoun זָבַחְתָּ *hast bought*, B. M. 51 *a*, קָטַלְתָּ *hast killed*, *ibid.* 59 *b*; מִזְבַּחְתָּ *sellest*, *ibid.* 72 *a*, סִתְּרִיתָ *breakest down*, B. B. 4 *a*; in the perfect אָרַבְתָּ *placest*, B. Q. 114 *a*; in the first syllable of the Aph'ēl הוֹדָה מִיַּגְמֵר *taught*, A. Z. 3 *b*, דְּמִיכְלִי *that he shout*, B. B. 5 *a*; לְאַשְׁתּוֹרֵי *to make water*, B. B. 19 *b*; לְאַפְסוֹלֵי *to make unfit*, Pes. 15 *b* (fragm. ed. by Lowe).

Long *Qāmēç*.—§ 69. Original long קָמֵץ at times changes to *ē* (or *i*). Usually so when *ā* has arisen in consequence of the quiescing of an א: מִיכַל, מִימֵר, מִיזִיל, תִּימֵר, תִּיכַל, מִינֵס, מִינֵס, from original *מִינַס, *מִימַר, *מִיזַל, *תִּימַר, *תִּיכַל, *מִינַס (primarily 'מִינַ', 'מִינַ'); רִישָׁא *head* for *רִישָׁא; מִשְׁקָלִי inf. of שָׁקַל *to weigh, be worth*, Ar. 18 *b*; מִינְמָרִי *to study*, Hôr. 12 *a*; מִינְמָרִי inf. from הָדַר *to return*, Ar. 23 *a*; הִדְתִּי, הִדְתִּי *new*, B. M. 73 *a*; הִוְרִיתִי *white*, הִוְרִיתִי *black*, הִרְבִּיתִי *great*, הִוְרִיתִי *small*, and other words like them.² מִינְמָרִי *small*, מִינְמָרִי *your vessels, garments*, M. MS., Pes. 111 *b*; רִיחָטְךָ *are frisky*, Sabb. 32 *a*; שִׁבְקֵיהֶוּ *their deceased parents or relatives*, B. M. 70 *a*; אִינִישׁ *man*. So also in the infinitives קָטוּלִי, קָטוּלִי, אָקְטוּלִי, אָקְטוּלִי (§ 223); and perhaps in the plural ending of the verb יָן for יָן.³ A kind of imâlê is diphthongization (§ 80).

¹ Some of these forms may be regular by-forms.

² Barth takes the ending תִּי to be identical with the pronominal element we find in the Ethiopic pronoun i'e'eti (ZDMG. 46, 688, n. 1). In Mandaic this appears as tē (Noeldeke, MG. 154); in Palmyrean it has the form תִּה (Halévy, *Maḥbereth*, p. ס"ה); in Arabic تِى, تِى, تِى. But how would this theory explain the masculine form תִּהִי? It is noteworthy that this ending תִּי appears only in adjectives.

³ So in Modern Arabic the nominal ending ى is pronounced ē, such forms as رَمَى are pronounced ramē, cf. also the transcription of Aramaic ē, i, by Arabic ā (Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, XVII.). For a similar change in Amharic, cf. Praetorius, *Amhar. Sprache*, p. 23.

OBSCURATION OF Â.—§70. The obscuration of *â* to *ô*, so characteristic of Hebrew, is rare in the Talmud. **לִּישָׁנָא** *study*, **פַּרְשֵׁי חֲמִשָּׁה** *your weekly lessons*, Ber. 8*b*; **רַבּוֹתָא** *myriads*, K. MS., Sanh. 26*a* (bis); **בִּיר** *my lord*, P. MS., Ber. 58*b*.¹ The nominal ending *ân* is at times obscured to *ô* or *û* under the influence of the *n*. **אָזְנֵי אֲבִי** *dried ears of corn*; **אֶדְרֵי** *bed-room*. **נִסְיוֹן** *trial*.

VOCALIC EPENTHESIS.—§71. The final vowel *i* of the first com. and the 2. fem. sing. and the final *û* of the 3. masc. plur. of the perfect influence their preceding vowel and are themselves apocopated. Thus, qat(a)l(a)tî becomes qat(a)lait, and contracted q(a)t(a)lêt, or q(a)t(a)lit, **קָטְלִית** or **קָטְלִית**. Similarly, the perfect q(a)t(a)lû becomes q(a)taⁿl contracted to q(a)tôl **קָטוֹל** (§§ 232, 243).² The pronominal suffixes *akhi* *thine* (f.), *akha* *thine* (m.) and *ahi* *his*, become *a^hkh*, *a^akh*, *aⁱh* and contracted, **אֶחָי**, **אֶחָי**, **אֶחָי**. The last form *ahi* for *ahu* or *ihu*, is due to analogical influence. An equivalent form *ihu* became by transposition *uhi* (*cf.* **אָבִי** *his father*) and in analogy of the latter such a form of *ahi* was formed.

INFLUENCE OF CONSONANTS ON VOWELS.—§72. The quiescence of one of the consonants **א**, **ר**, **י**, **ה**, **ה**, **ז**, or **ר**, lengthens the preceding vowel. Thus **אֵינָא** *I say* (for **אֵינָא***); **רֵישָׁא** *her head* (for **רֵישָׁא***); **סָגִי** *he went* (for **סָגִי*** = *sagîi*); **בִּיבֵד** *to do* (for **בִּיבֵד**); **בָּנָא** for **בָּנָא** *it rumbled*; **קִיקְיָ** for **קִיקְיָ** *worms*. The same is the case when any other final consonant disappears: as **שָׁקָא**, **נָשָׂא**, **הֵיאָבָא**, for **שָׁקָל**, **נָשֵׁב**, **הֵיאָבֵד** (§ 159); **אִי** for **אִי** *if*.

§73. The neighborhood of an *z* sometimes produces imâlê: **אַרְבַּעַ** *four*, **הֶדְשִׁיר** *eleven* (= **הֶדְשִׁיר**), **אַרְבִּישִׁר** (**אַרְבִּישִׁר**). **שְׁתַּא** (**שְׁתַּא**). On the other hand, **ר** and the gutturals **ה**, **ח**, **ע** change a preceding short vowel *ě*, *i*, or *u*, to *a*: **בֶּר** *son* (**בֶּר**), **תְּרֵיתָן** *two*, (**תְּרֵיתָן***), **לֵימֵר** *he says*, (**לֵימֵר***), **דַּע** *knows*, **נָחַ** *is late*, **אָמַר** *says*, **זָבַח** *slaughters*, with *a* for *i*. But **אֵינָא** *I say* (for **אֵינָא**) and **שָׁבִינָא** *I was satisfied*, Col. MS., Meg. 7*b*.

¹ Cf. **מור**, HG., 407, 417. Still the **ר** in some cases may simply denote **קמץ**, not **הולם**. Cf. **נָקוֹל**, TG, ed. Cassel. 41; **נָטְמֵר**, *ibid.* 41, and G. Hoffmann. ZDMG. 32, 737.

² Jastrow, s. v. **כָּבֵד**, reads Nidd. 56*a* **כָּבֵד** *I swept*, which, in his opinion, stands for **כָּבֵד**. But this is a mistake. As is evident from the next page, we have here **כָּבֵד**, 3. person for 1., a frequent occurrence in the Talmud.

§ 74. The neighborhood of a labial or of a liquid obscures at times *ā* (or *i*) to *ū* (or *ō*). This phenomenon is more frequent in the cognate dialects.¹ מַנָּה *man* (already in Bibl. Aram.), הוֹנֵה *honey*, גִּנְהָה *vine*, אֶמְהָה *leaven*, תַּמְרֵהָה *date-palm*, אֶמְהָה *a weaving*, Sabb. 58 a, טֶהָה *shade*, אֶמְהָה *wine-pressing*, עֵמְהָה *rain-shower*, פִּגְמֵהָה *grain of seed*, אֶמְהָה *the young of a gazelle*;² מִקְשָׁה inf. Qal of קָשִׁי *to be difficult*, Yeb. 40 a; פִּתְהָה Pers. *kataḥ*, a certain dish.³

NOTE.—In פִּתְהָה *mouth*, we have an original nominative פִּתְהָה +mimation. In the first syllable of אֶמְהָה we have an attempt to render the Arabic غ.

FLUCTUATING VOCALIZATION.—§ 75. Some words fluctuate in their vocalization, and it is impossible to tell which is the original form. Thus אֶמְהָה *web* appears also as אֶמְהָה, אֶמְהָה, אֶמְהָה, אֶמְהָה, and אֶמְהָה; גִּנְהָה a kind of doves, גִּנְהָה *fly*, appear also as גִּנְהָה, גִּנְהָה, and similarly many other words.⁴

SHORTENING OF LONG VOWELS IN CLOSED SYLLABLES.—§ 76. In the traditional pronunciation long vowels in closed syllables are shortened. This is most marked in the case of קָמִיץ as it differs from פִּתְהָה also qualitatively in Ashkenasic pronunciation. Thus, פִּתְהָה, אֶמְהָה are pronounced פִּתְהָה, אֶמְהָה.

COMPENSATORY LENGTHENING.—§ 77. Compensatory lengthening takes place in מִמְהָה (§§ 77, 90), אֶמְהָה a proper name, for אֶמְהָה (=Arab. اَمْرٌ), לִיָּה *liar*, (=בִּדְהָה; cf. § 77), עֵמְהָה *its branches*, M. MS., Pes. 111 b, for עֵמְהָה = עֵמְהָה of eds.; הֶמְהָה, for הֶמְהָה = הֶמְהָה (§ 119); הֶמְהָה *that they may lift him up*, 2 M. MS., M. Q. 28 b, for הֶמְהָה;⁵ פִּגְמֵהָה *star* (through an intermediate kakkabu); הֶמְהָה *trumpet*; שִׁמְהָה *chain*; פִּתְהָה *partridges*; גִּנְהָה or גִּנְהָה a kind of doves; קִמְהָה *dung-hill*; שִׁמְהָה *chain*; שֶׁמְהָה *sesame*; הֶמְהָה or הֶמְהָה *fly*; לֶמְהָה *palm-branch*; טֶמְהָה *bridesman*; גִּלְהָה (=גִּלְהָה Gaph'el of גִּלְהָה).

HEIGHTENING AND DEPRESSION OF VOWELS.—§ 78. Short *u* is heightened to *ō* in a final syllable: אֶמְהָה, אֶמְהָה. Long *o* is

¹ It must be remembered that some of the forms with *u* may be by-forms.

² Cf. Noeldeke, *MG.*, 17 sq., *ZDMG.*, XXII., 455; Dalman, *op. cit.*, 65.

³ Cf. Fraenkel, *Fremdw.*, XVII.; G. Hoffmann, *LCB.*, 1881, Col. 416, 1882, Col. 320.

⁴ Cf. Noeldeke, *MG.*, § 15.

⁵ G. Hoffmann, *ZDMG.* 32, 754, cites Bar Hebraeus to Ezr. 16:24, gaib^hē for gabbē

sometimes pronounced *û* as in Western Syriac. This is regularly the case in infinitive forms קְטוּלִי, קְטוּלִי, etc.; in the pronouns and pronominal suffixes אֲתוֹן, אֲנִי, אֲנִיָּהּ, אֲנִיָּהּ, אֲנִיָּהּ, אֲנִיָּהּ; in the perfect with transposed final vowel קְטוּלִי (§ 71); in the names of the letters יוּד, קוּד, קוּד; frequently in the plural endings of the verbs אֲתוּנִי, אֲתוּנִי, etc.

Final *ê*, *ē*, if not plural ending, is frequently pronounced *i*: אֲנִיָּהּ *they*, הֲדָתִי, הֲדָתִי, *new*, etc., and in a few other cases; *c. g.*, הֲבִיתָהּ *his wife*, lit. *the one of his house*.

DIPHTHONGS.—§ 79. In diphthongs whose second element is *î* the latter has retained its vocalic force in traditional pronunciation; while in diphthongs whose second element is *î* the latter is pronounced as *î* or *î*. Thus, בֵּיתָא *house*, בֵּתְרֵיתָא *last*, are pronounced baîtho, bathraîtho, but טֶרֶא *roast*, תֶּרֶא *treading*, תֶּרֶא *exactitude*, tavyo, dafšo, dafko.

Diphthongization.—§ 80. The vowels *î*, *ê*, *â*, change sometimes to *ai*. The vowels *ô* and *û* to *au*. That an original diphthong thus reappears is only incidental.

a) *î* and *ê*: אֲתַנִּיחִי I became sick, M. MS., Sabb. 145 b; אֲתַנִּיחִי was satisfied, B. Q. 113 b; אֲתַנִּיחִי she committed adultery, Sanh. 106 a; צִיִּל clear, Sabb. 23 a 'Arûch; הִיִּק pounded, Bêqā 14 b; לִיִּק connected, Hull. 11 a; צִיִּר bound up, פִּיִּל measured, *ibid.* 105 b; צִיִּר are bound up, B. M. 24 b. 108 b; הִיִּס grit; מִדְּוִן (= מִדְּוִל § 34) H. MS., B. B. 8 a.—אֲתַנִּיחִי she brought up, Sabb. 116 b; אֲתַנִּיחִי they were soiled, *ibid.* 124 b; שִׁדְּרִיָּא I sow, Keth. 103 b; הִפְּרִיָּא I cover, MSS. B. M. 49 b; קִצְּרִיָּא I shall cut down, M. MS., *ibid.* 107 b; לִשְׁתִּיתִּיהָ I cursed him, B. B. 21 b; בִּנִּיתִּיהָ thou buildest, B. B. 4 a; מִלִּשְׁתִּיתִּיהָ thou cursest, Sabb. 151 b; אֲמַנִּיתִּיהָ thou hast brought, Ber. 9 b; עָלָיָא upon, Yalq. MS., Yômā 83 b; עָלָיָא or עָלָיָא upon him, Col. MS., Meg. 7 a and elsewhere; the possessive suffixes אֲתַנִּיחִי and אֲתַנִּיחִי.¹

b) *â*: הִיִּצְּפִי a kind of dove; פִּיִּצְּנִי (= פִּיִּצְּנִי) we are hungry, B. M. 83 a; אֲדַמְּרִיתִּיהָ as long as they are wet (sibi) (= אֲדַמְּרִיתִּיהָ), Pes. 111 b.

¹ Cf. רִדְּוִן, TG., ed. Harkavy, p. 5; רִדְּוִן, *ibid.*, 32, n. 10.

c) *û, ô*: אֶבְרוֹרִי pinnacles; הַדּוֹשָׁה passage, habit; הַדּוֹלָלָה skein; שִׁוְרָה thorn; צִדְוֹרִיתָה (= צִדְוֹרִיתָה) food; הַדּוֹקָה exactness.

Transposition of Diphthongal Elements.—§ 81. The elements of a diphthongized vowel are sometimes transposed, the *a*-vowel being placed after the *i* or *u*-vowel. In such a case the last are usually consonantized and the first lengthened: בְּאִירִי, בְּאִירִי orchards; דְּבִירָה, דְּבִירָה pullet; וְהִרְרָה, וְהִרְרָה rich landlord; טְוִרְרָה, טְוִרְרָה armory; פְּרִיטְוִרְרָה, פְּרִיטְוִרְרָה plural fine linen shirt; מְרִיטְוִרְרָה, מְרִיטְוִרְרָה proud fool; מְרִיטְוִרְרָה, מְרִיטְוִרְרָה proper name; נְסִיבָה (nēsibā. nisiābā), נְסִיבָה, נְסִיבָה, נְסִיבָה; נְסִיבָה (nāsōrā), קִרְרָה, קִרְרָה, קִרְרָה; שְׁרִיבָה (šarīqā), שְׁרִיבָה (šāhōr).¹ Akin to this is the consonantization of the *u*-vowel in שְׁרִיבָה, שְׁרִיבָה (Syr. ܫܪܝܒܐ) lewd woman (= תּוֹבֵעַת).

CONTRACTION OF VOWELS.—§ 82. *ā'ā* is contracted sometimes to *ā*. This is especially the case with the adjective ending. קֶמָה first. בְּתִירָה last, הַדִּירָה the Adiabenean, לִיבָה the Libyan, שִׁירָה silk, נְהִירָה the Nehardean (Keth. 54 a, a. e.), אִרְרָה the heathen (Col. MS., M. Q. 12 b), קֶפְרָה if it mean the Cypriote, לִיבָה above, לְתִירָה below, beneath;² בְּרָה (= בְּרָה) Col. MS., Zeb., *passim*.

NOTE.—Luzzatto's objection to the explanation of אֶרֶבָה as *Rab of Arēkhā*³ falls to the ground, since אֶרֶבָה might well stand for אֶרֶבָה. Jastrow in his dictionary vocalizes אֶרֶבָה and explains it by *one who arranges arguments, a lecturer*. In such a case, however, we should rather expect the word to be אֶרֶבָה, not אֶרֶבָה. For although such forms may be found in the Targumim—*cf. e. g.* Levy's *Dict. on the Targ.*, s. v. נִרְרָה—they may, in every case, be explained as scribal errors, or as learned affectations. And even if the word could be grammatically defended, its extremely rare occurrence (I know of no case in the Talmud) speaks against its being in general use, and it could not have stood the wear and tear of an ignorant populace

¹ *Cf.* Mišne (פֶּסָה), פֶּסָה, פֶּסָה, פֶּסָה, and פֶּסָה. *Cf.* also Assyrian zī-
'arānu, hi'alānu, for zīrānu, hīlānu.

² With the two last words, some such word as אֶרֶבָה *side* is to be understood.

³ *Op. cit.*, § 61 c.

through centuries. It will, moreover, be observed that the Talmud explains that לָקַב by אֲרִיכָה, which is generally taken to mean *tall*, but which Dr. Jastrow explains as *well-arranged, well-balanced, thinker*. Whatever that may mean, and whatever we may think of the Talmudists' etymologizing, one thing is certain, that they read אֲרִיכָה as a passive participle. Nobody would ever think of denying them the knowledge of a correct pronunciation of their living mother tongue; hence, any explanation offered must be based on the form אֲרִיכָה. For other explanations of the name cf. Muehlfelder, *Rabh*, p. 1, note; Goldammer's note to his English translation of Luzzatto's grammar, § 64; Kohut, *Aruch Completum*, s. v. אֲרִיכָה; Weiss, *Zur Geschichte der jüd. Trad.*, III., 147, note 3; *Hehālûç*, ix, 18 sq.

§ 83. Diphthongs are usually contracted in verbal forms: *ay* contracts to *ô*; *ai*, to *ê*, *i* (or *â*). אָרַבְתִּי *he placed*, אָרְבִּיזוּ *they taught*, רָאָה *sees*, תָּלִי *hangs*, תִּשְׁלִי *throwest*, שָׁאַלְתָּ *you asked*, כָּבֵן *clean*, רָצִינוּ *we want*, Col. MSS. *passim*, מְצַלֵּלָה *I pray*, M. MS., Ber. 28 a, and others. In nouns: אֲרִיזָלָה *young gazelle*, Syriac חֲנֻכָּהּ *his wife*. In qatl and qatal forms it is sometimes contracted, but quite as frequently uncontracted. The later state is probably due to subsequent diphthongization (§ 80). Thus זֵיתָה *olive*, מוֹתָה *death*, תוֹרָה *thorn*; but בֵּיתָה *veil*, בֵּיתָה (and בֵּיתָה) *house*, חֲנִיָּה *inn*, זְרִיָּה *arms*, חֲבִילָה *bucket*. In the plural ending *ai(a)*: אֲנָשִׁי *men*, אֲבָנֵי *stones*, מִלֵּי *words*.

RETENTION OF DISAPPEARING AND INSERTION OF NEW VOWELS.

—§ 84. *Pretonic Qameç*.—In some cases original *ā* in an open syllable before the tone is lengthened to *ā*, as in Hebrew. Thus פִּשְׁוֹרָה, Assy. *gašûru*, *joist* (the variant פִּשְׁוֹרָה corresponds to Assy. *gušûru*); מַחֲזֹזָה *Māhōzā*; חָזִי or חֲזִי *proper, fit*, for חָזִי; סָרִי *hateful* (Col. MS., Meg., vocalizes סָרִי), for סָרִי; צָרִי *necessary*, for צָרִי; מִנְיָה *money*; מַגִּישָׁה *Magian*.¹

§ 85. Other short vowels in open syllables are sometimes retained and probably lengthened. This is especially the case

¹ Cf. Targumic מִזֶּרֶן, מִחֲזֹז, מִמֶּרֶן (?), קִטְרוֹתָה, כִּרְתִּי. Most of these nouns are evidently loan-words in which an effort is made to retain the original *ā* sound. Cf. also Syriac חֲנֻכָּהּ, חֲנֻכָּהּ, חֲנֻכָּהּ, all loan-words. (A verb חָנַן in the sense of the Hebrew חָנַן *to encamp* does not exist in any of the Aramaic languages.)

with verbs which retain at times the full vocalization of the 3d masc. sing. in the lengthened forms. *לָּעָרוּקוּ* *let them run away*, B. B. 8 *a*; *נִגְרוּסוּ* *let them study*, P. MS., Ber. 13 *b*; *לַעֲבִידוּ* *let them do*, B. B. 156 *a*; *בִּשְׁיָלָהּ* *she cooked*, Ned. 66 *b*; *לִיפְרוֹקֵינוּ* *let him redeem us*, Sanh. 105 *b*, and others.¹ *עוֹבְדָא* *deed*; *שִׁטְרָא* *document*; *צִילָחָא* *megrim*; *פּוֹבְכָא* *cluster of dates*. (But cf. § 92.)

§ 86. New vowels are sometimes found which differ from the original in whose places they stand. Thus, the preformatives of the imperfect Pa'él take *ē* or *i*: *אֵיקְטִיל*, *אֵיפְרִיךָ*; the preformatives of the imperfect Qal in *ע"י* and *ע"ע* stems: *e. g.*, *אֵיקָם*, *אֵינָה*, *אֵינָהוּשׁ*; a nominal form like *אֵומְרָתָא*; entirely new is the vowel in *אֵבְזָרָא* (orig. *abzâr*), *אֵינִיבָא* *berry*.

§ 87. A number of words, especially verb-forms, take a prothetic vowel to facilitate their pronunciation. *אֵשְׁתִּי* *he drank*, Sabb. 141 *a*; *אֵאָכַל* *he swallowed*, Sukk. 49 *b*; *אֵשְׁתִּיק* *he kept silent*, Pes. 17 *a*; *אֵמָצִי* *he was able*, Ned. 89 *b*; *אֵימָדָא* *he objected*, B. M. 110 *a*; *אֵיטְשָׂא* *he hid himself*, A. Z. 70 *a*; *אֵשְׁתִּיא* *she drank*, Yeb. 65 *b*; *אֵשְׁתִּיקָהּ* *she kept quiet*, Qidd. 13 *a*; *אֵשְׁתִּיקוּ* *they kept quiet*, Nāz. 32 *a*, Sôtā 35 *a*,² *אֵשְׁתוּ* *drink ye*, Sabb. 41 *a*; *אֵאָטְרוּ* *wait ye*, Ber. 53 *b*; *אֵיכְרִי* *was spoiled* (§ 89), M. MS., Taan. 7 *a*; *אֵינִי* *she committed adultery*, K. MS., Sanh. 106 *a*, eds. *אֵינִי* (§§ 80, 89); *אֵדְבָא* *blood*.

§ 88. In some cases a vowel is prothetically added to words whose first consonant has a full vowel. In such a case the vowel of the original first syllable is frequently dropped. *אֵאָדְרוּ* *they will dwell*, M. MS., Taan. 25 *a*; *אֵאָמְנָהוּ* *they appointed him*, Sanh. 26 *a*; *אֵאָכְרָא* *poll-tax*; and others. Cf. § 91.

LOSS OF VOWELS.—§ 89. Original short vowels have been dropped in all probability to about the same extent as in the cognate dialects. Final long vowels have been dropped in the personal pronouns and possessive suffixes. *אֵהָנָא* became *אֵהָנָ** and then *אֵהָנָ* (v. § 94), *אֵהָנָהּ*, *אֵהָנָהּ*, *אֵהָנָהּ*, *אֵהָנָהּ*, became *אֵהָנָהּ*, *אֵהָנָהּ*. The loss of final *û* in *אֵהָנָהּ*, *אֵהָנָהּ* (v. § 94) is exceptional. In

¹ In Hebrew similar forms are found only in pause. Cf. also § 230, note.

² *אֵמְרָהּ* B. M. 84 *b* does not belong here; it is Ithpe'él. Cf. *מִיפְרָדָא* Keth. 57 *b*. The prothetic vowel in the perfect may have been influenced by the imperfect *י* and only differentiated orthographically. Cf. also Hommel, *B.A.*, II., 357.

the enclitic pronouns ך is sometimes found for ך; in the perfect, the pronominal endings of the 1st and 2d person sing. have lost their final vowel. The final *û* in the 3d masc. plur. of the perfect has been frequently dropped with coincident coloring of the preceding vowel (v. § 71). In the other parts of the verb the loss of final *û* is very rare. The *i* of the 1st sing. is generally dropped in the objective suffix, rarely so in the possessive (v. § 109). The final vowels of the 2d and 3d sing. and the 1st plur. are generally dropped in both possessive and objective suffixes.¹ Also in *בָּעֵלָהּ* *became bad*, *זָנָהּ* *committed adultery*, *אֵינָהּ* *when*, *אֵינָהּ* *there is*, the final vowel is dropped.

Syncope of Vowels in Consequence of Resolution.—§ 90. Resolution of doubling with syncope of vowel is found in *הַשָּׂתָהּ* *now* (*הַשָּׂתָהּ*), *מֵנָּה* *whence* (*מֵן אֵן*);² *מִמֶּלֶךְ* *of itself* (*מֵלֶךְ*); *אֲנִי* *on account of* (*עַל מִשְׁוֹל*); *אֲנִי* *upon* (*עַל מִשְׁוֹל*).³

Syncope of Vowel in Consequence of Prothetic Lengthening of Word.—§ 91. The addition of a prothetic vowel frequently produces syncope (§ 88): *אֶשְׂרָף* *leaf*; *אֶשְׂלָא* *a kind of alkali*; *אֶפְסָה* (*אֶפְסָה*) *bread*; *אֶפְסָה* (*אֶפְסָה*) *matting*; *אֶרְקָהּ* (*אֶרְקָהּ*) *wrought metal*. Cf. *אֶרְקָהּ* and *אֶרְקָהּ* (§ 89). The same thing happens when a word is lengthened by the addition of a preposition; e. g., *אֶרְקָהּ* *outside*, *אֶרְקָהּ* *inside*.

Syncope of Vowel in Consequence of Segholatization.—§ 92. *שָׂטָרָה*, *שָׂטָרָה*, *written document*; *אֶרְשִׁי* *אֶרְשִׁי* *men*; *מֶגְרִים*, *מֶגְרִים* *megrîm*; *חֲמִישִׁי*, *חֲמִישִׁי* *eight*; *חֲמִישִׁי*, *חֲמִישִׁי* *thirty*; *עֹבְדָהּ*, *עֹבְדָהּ* *deed, fact*; *פְּבִסָּהּ*, *פְּבִסָּהּ* *cluster of dates*; and many others.

ACCENT.—§ 93. The traditional pronunciation accents always the penult of a word. Prefixed prepositions and conjunctions do not receive the accent.

¹ Whether the *i* of the 1st sing. of the possessive suffixes and the *û* in the plur. of verbs were pronounced or merely retained orthographically in Talmudic times we are unable to decide.

² Cf. Tunisian Arab. *mnîn*.

³ Cf. Hebrew *שָׂ* for *שָׂ*; *מִ* for *מִ* (*מִרְחֵל* Ps. 69:9); *מִמֶּלֶךְ* *from his people* Targ. Onk., Lev. 21:14 and 23:29. Cf. also *רְעִיבִין*, *רְעִיבִין*, *רְעִיבִין*, for *רְעִיבִין*, *רְעִיבִין*.

III. MORPHOLOGY.

PRONOUNS.—A. PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

a. Independent Personal Pronouns.—§ 94. *a)* אֲנִי *I*; אַתָּה, rarely אַתָּה, *thou*; הוּא, אִידֵּהוּ,¹ הִיא *he*; הִיא, אִידֵּהּ *she*; אֵלֶּיךָ, rarely אֵלֵינוּ, אֵלֵיכֶם, אֵלֵינוּ, אֵלֵיכֶם, אַתָּה, אַתָּה, אַתָּה, אַתָּה, *ye*; אֵינֶם, rarely אֵינֶם, אֵינֶם, אֵינֶם, *they*, masc.; אֵינֶה, *they*, fem.

b) REFERENCES: אֲנִי *I*, Ned. 5 *a*, 44 *b*; B. B. 59 *b*; a. fr.—אֵלֵינוּ *we*, Ned. 56 *a*, Ber. 56 *b*; a. fr. אֵלֵינוּ *we*, B. B. 164 *a*, Sanh. 11 *ab* (taken from Biblical Aramaic).—אַתָּה *thou*, Ned. 5 *a*, 21 *a*; a. fr. אַתָּה *thou*, Ned. 91 *b*, Taan. 29 *a*; Sabb. 30 *a*; B. M. 26 *b*, 39 *b*, 109 *b*; a. e.—אַתָּה *ye*, Ned. 50 *b*, 55 *a*; a. fr. אַתָּה *ye*, Sanh. 109 *a*. אַתָּה אַתָּה אַתָּה *that you are thieves*; אַתָּה אַתָּה אַתָּה *I and ye*, Col MS., Pes. 110 *a*; אַתָּה אַתָּה אַתָּה *it is ye who did*, etc., M. MS., B. M. 73 *a*. אַתָּה *ye*, B. M. eds. 37 *a*. אַתָּה אַתָּה אַתָּה *ye yourselves*. אַתָּה *ye*, Pes. 110 *a* (V. L., a. l., n. 20). אַתָּה אַתָּה אַתָּה *ye and I are seven*; אַתָּה אַתָּה אַתָּה *ye yourselves*, B. M. 37 *a*. אַתָּה *ye*, Pes. 110 *a* (V. L., loc. cit.). אַתָּה אַתָּה אַתָּה *ye and I are five*.—הוּא *he*, Ned. 55 *a*; a. fr. הוּא *he*, it is, B. B. 111 *a*; Ned. 51 *a*, 55 *a*; a. fr. הוּא *she*, Meg. 14 *a*; Nidd. 72 *b*; a. e. הוּא *she*, it is, Ned. 23 *a*, 50 *a*, 91 *a*; a. e.—הֵם *they*, masc., Ned. 20 *b*; a. fr. הֵם *they*, masc. and fem., in older language, Keth. 23 *a*; Ned. 42 *b*, 52 *b*; Naz. 47 *b*, 57 *b*, 64 *b*; Taan. 18 *b*; B. B. 165 *b*; Ber. 50 *a*; B. M. 104 *b*; a. e. הֵם *they*, fem., Ber. 44 *a*; Keth. 2 *b*; a. e.

§ 95. The demonstrative pronoun אֵלֶּיךָ is at times used as a personal pronoun for the third person plural of both genders. Cf. Keth. 111 *a*, Meg. 16 *a*, Hull. 53 *a*, Bekh. 5 *a*.

§ 96. In our editions there occurs once the pronoun הוּא *he*, *she*. אַתָּה הוּא אַתָּה *thou and she are relatives*, B. M. 67 *a*; in older texts it must have occurred more frequently; cf. אַתָּה הוּא אַתָּה *I and he*, Aruch Compl. Nid. 25 *b*; אַתָּה הוּא אַתָּה *he and she*, *ibid.* Gitt. 68 *b*. Kohut, *Ar. Compl.*, s. v., has also the variant הוּא.

¹ Col. MS., Meg. 16 *a*, vocalizes אִידֵּהוּ.

The word is identical with נִיְהִיָּה or נִיְהִיָּה originally *to her*, the ה having changed to י or י . The dative fem. came to be used for the nominative of both genders. Cf. $\text{נִיְהִיָּה} = \text{נִיְהִיָּה}$ M. MS., Sabb. 156 *b*, and *li, lan, I, we*, in the Chaldeo-Pahlavi for 'anā, 'anan.

§ 97. The forms אִיהִי , אִיהִי , אִיְהִי , אִיְהִי , are shortened from אִיהִיא , אִיהִיא , אִיְהִיא , אִיְהִיא , the first element אִ , אִ being demonstrative elements אִ , $\text{אִ} + \text{אִ}$.¹ The forms וְהִיא , וְהִיא are used mostly as copula.²

b. Enclitic Personal Pronouns.—§ 98. The pronouns of the first and second persons are generally joined enclitically to the participles, and rarely to adjectives, so as to form, with the latter, one word. They are then shortened and assume the following forms:

MASCULINE.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>	
1. <i>a.</i>	אִיְהִי	<i>a.</i>	$[\text{אִ}(\text{---})]$, אִיְהִי , אִיְהִי , אִיְהִי , אִיְהִי
<i>β.</i>	$[\text{אִ}(\text{---})]$, אִיְהִי , אִיְהִי , אִיְהִי	<i>β.</i>	$[\text{אִ}(\text{---})]$, אִיְהִי , אִיְהִי , אִיְהִי , אִיְהִי
2. <i>a.</i>	אִיְהִי	<i>a.</i>	אִיְהִי , אִיְהִי
<i>β.</i>	$[\text{אִ}(\text{---})]$, אִיְהִי	<i>β.</i>	אִיְהִי , אִיְהִי

§ 99. Of the feminine, only the second person sing. is found in a few examples: אִיְהִי *thou art forbidden for me*, Sanh. 20 *a*; אִיְהִי *will thou marry me?* Keth. 81 *b*; אִיְהִי *will thou lead?* *ibid.* 63 *a*; אִיְהִי *thou collectest payment*, *ibid.* 43 *b*.

§ 100. The forms under *a* are used with verbs whose final radical is a consonant; those under *β* with אִיְהִי verbs. The forms in brackets occur only sporadically.

§ 101. The plural forms under *a* are sometimes joined to the singular theme of the participles and are in such a case preceded by אִיְהִי . For examples see §§ 271, 272.

¹ On the various etymologies suggested for these pronouns, cf. Fuerst, *Lehrgr. d. aram. Id.*, p. 231 sq.; Hupfeld, *ZKM.*, II., 124 sq.; Boettcher, *Hebr. Gram.*, § 869, 2; Noeldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, pp. 68, n. 3, 92, n. 1; Duval, *Gram. Syriacque*, p. 168, n. 2; Wright, *Comp. Gram.*, pp. 98, 106; Dillmann, *Gram. d. aethiop. Sprache*, p. 267; Merx, *Gram. Syr.*, p. 167; Levy, *Neuh. Wb.*, s. v. אִיְהִי ; Jastrow, *Dictian.*, s. v. אִיְהִי . For the Neo-Syriac forms *ahu, ahi, anhi*, cf. Guidi, *ZDMG.*, xxxvii, 293 sq. Cf. also Maclean, *Gram. of Vernacular Syriac*, p. 17.

² In later literature: אִיְהִי *we*, HG. 319; אִיְהִי *thou* (masc.), *ibid.* 403; אִיְהִי *ye*, *ibid.* 404; אִיְהִי (masc.), *ibid.* 208; אִיְהִי MV. 35; אִיְהִי *he*, HG. 394; אִיְהִי *she*, *ibid.* 305.

§ 102. In consequence of the promiscuous use of the preformatives א and ל with the third person masculine, the first person plural adopted by analogy a similar usage. As a result of this, both forms, the third person masculine singular and the first person plural, became indistinguishable. To remedy this, the enclitic personal pronoun was sometimes attached to the latter. לִי־נִי־נִי *let us consider*, Sabb. 30 b; לִי־נִי־נִי־נִי *let us abolish*, Col. MS., Zeb. 38 a; נִי־נִי־נִי *let us infer*, *ibid.* 106 b.

§ 103. Rosenberg¹ sees in forms like אֲנִי־נִי־נִי (Sabb. 83 a, B. M. 86 a, a. e.), אֲנִי־נִי־נִי־נִי (Sanh. 29 a), and אֲנִי־נִי־נִי־נִי (Sabb. 121 b), forms of the perfect with an enclitic instead of a constitutive pronoun. This is erroneous; such forms are regular plurals used for the singular; cf. below, § 106.

§ 104. The same author explains (*loc. cit.*) forms like אֲנִי־נִי־נִי , as composed of the respective verb and the singular pronoun of the second person “ אַתָּה ” with apocope of final “ תָּה .” The second element is rather the objective suffix of the third person feminine, which latter refers to a word like נִלְתָּה understood. Thus, אֲנִי־נִי־נִי , אֲנִי־נִי־נִי , = אֲנִי־נִי־נִי , אֲנִי־נִי־נִי ; cf. נִי־נִי־נִי = נִי־נִי־נִי *we need it*; אֲנִי־נִי־נִי = אֲנִי־נִי־נִי *I wonder at it*.

§ 105. It will be observed that not only do the suffixes for the singular and the plural nouns show a promiscuous use, but the singular and plural suffixes themselves are sometimes not differentiated. The genders, moreover, sometimes interchange, though much more rarely.² This circumstance seems to be due to the fact that some of the singular suffixes, having become worn out, have lost their suggestiveness and have been supplanted by the more sonorous and emphatic plural forms, and this caused the confusion of all forms.

§ 106. Another perplexity is encountered by the student in the use of the first person plural for the same person in the singular, which is an expression of modesty or of generalizing indefiniteness. That plural is sometimes found together with the singular in one and the same clause; e. g., $\text{זָכַרְתִּי וְנִי־נִי־נִי}$ *and I (we) remember also having told him*, B. M. 8 b; $\text{זָכַרְתִּי וְנִי־נִי־נִי}$

¹ *Das aramäische Verbum im babylonischen Talmud*, p. 15.

² For a similar promiscuous use of the pronouns in other languages cf. Böttcher, *op. cit.* § 878.

לֹא מוֹקְמִינֵךְ לִי for I (we) am not a Persian, eds. *ibid.* 28 b; לֹא לִירֹק לִי I (we) should not explain it, Pes. 90 a; לִירֹק לִי I spit out, M. MS., Sabb. 145 b; לִי קָטַנְתִּי I shall cut down, B. M. 107 b.¹ This use of the plural promiscuously with the singular has misled even such men as the late Jacob Levy² and Th. Noeldeke³ into erroneous theories. Thus Levy assumes a paragogic *nûn* in the first person singular; and Noeldeke explains such forms as קטלינא, which occur on almost every page of the voluminous Talmud, as scribal errors. Whether these forms follow the analogy of לִי verbs or are plurals used as singulars, or are due to both causes, they are certainly legitimate formations.

c. Possessive Suffixes.—§ 107.

SINGULAR.

With Singular Nouns.

With Plural Nouns.

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| 1. c. | לִי | לִי, לִי, לִי |
| 2. m. | לְךָ, לְךָ | לְךָ, לְךָ |
| 2. f. | לְךָ, לְךָ [לְךָ, לְךָ] | לְךָ, לְךָ [לְךָ, לְךָ] |
| 3. m. | { לִי, לִי, לִי, לִי }
[לְךָ, לְךָ, לְךָ] | { לִי, לִי, לִי, לִי }
[לְךָ, לְךָ, לְךָ] |
| 3. f. | לְךָ, לְךָ [לְךָ, לְךָ] | לְךָ, לְךָ [לְךָ, לְךָ] |

PLURAL.

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| 1. c. | לִי, לִי, לִי, לִי, לִי, לִי | לִי, לִי, לִי |
| 2. m. | לְךָ, לְךָ, לְךָ, לְךָ, לְךָ, לְךָ | לְךָ, לְךָ, לְךָ |
| 2. f. | לְךָ, לְךָ | לְךָ, לְךָ |
| 3. m. | { לִי, לִי, לִי, לִי }
[לְךָ, לְךָ, לְךָ] | { לִי, לִי, לִי, לִי }
[לְךָ, לְךָ, לְךָ] |
| 3. f. | לְךָ, לְךָ [לְךָ, לְךָ] | לְךָ, לְךָ [לְךָ, לְךָ] |

§ 108. The form לִי arose from לִי by metathesis; לִי becoming לִי. From this form is derived the suffix 3d masc. sing. לִי. לְךָ, לְךָ, and לְךָ are Hebraisms. לִי is properly objective suffix. Forms in brackets are of rare occurrence. For examples, see Nouns.

¹ An analogous use of the plural is found in the Jerusalem Talmud; cf. M. Schlesinger's *Aram. Verb. im Jer. Talm.*, p. 15 sq.

² *Neuh. u. chald. Wb.* s. v. לִי.

³ A. Rosenberg, *Das Aram. Verb. im Babyl. Talm.*, p. 23.

§ 109. Familiar nouns, especially those denoting family relationship, are frequently used without possessive suffixes.

1. First person: אִמִּי *my mother*, M. Q. 20 *b*, a. e.; אִם id. M. Q. 12 *a*, Gitt. 70 *a*, Šabb. 66 *b*, Ber. 39 *b*, Yôm. 78 *a*, a. e.; אָבִי *my father*, M. Q. 20 *b*, Meg. 12 *b*, B. M. 59 *b*, a. e.; סִבָּתָא *my grandmother*, B. B. 125 *ab*; בִּיר *my son*, Ber. 5 *b*; בַּת *my daughter*, Hull. 95 *b*, Keth. 54 *a*, 109 *b*; אִיתָא *my wife*, B. B. 132 *b*; בְּכֻלָּהּ יָדָא *into my whole hand*, Ber. 56 *b*; לְבִירְיָהּ *to my bed*, *ibid.*; וְאַמְטִינְהוּ לְבֵיתָא *and bring them to my house*, Qidd. 22 *b*; מִן בֵּיתָא עַד בֵּי מְדֻרְשָׁא *from my house to the college*, Ned. 59 *b*: (in the parallel passage Ber. 55 *a* we have אִישְׁפִּינָא for בֵּיתָא). מַאי דְקָמָא *what is that before me?* i. e., how do I come to that? On קָמָא = קָמֵה, קָמֵה = קָמֵן *before us*, see Levy, *Neuh. Wb.* s. v. קָמָא, I.

2. Third person: אִתְתָּא שְׂכִיבָא *his (thy) wife is going to die*, Ber. 56 *a*; קְטִילִינְהוּ לְכוּלָּהּ מְרוּוּתָא *he killed all his masters*, B. B. 3*b*; מִי אִיכָא אָבִא דְקָאִים מְקַמִּי בְרָא *would a father ever rise up before his son?* Keth. 62 *b*; דְקוּלְסָא גְבֵרָא *whose husband is a kitchen-gardener*, Yeb. 118 *b*; דְשׁוּשְׁמִנָא גְבֵרָא *whose husband is as small as an ant*, *ibid.*

§ 110. The suffix of the first person sing. is sometimes omitted: מֶר *my lord, sir*, frequently; כְּנָה *like me*, Col. MS., Pes. 105 *b*; נֶפֶשׁ יְהִיא נֶפֶשׁ יְהִיא *rejoice my soul, rejoice my soul*, *ibid.* 68 *b*; מִן *from me*, B. B. 142 *b*, M. MS., *ibid.* Hag. 22*b*, *ibid.* 15 *b*, V. L. ad l. n. 4, Er. 53 *b*. In the last passage as an example of the Galilean dialect.

§ 111. אִת *there is* and לִית *there is not*, on account of their verbal force take mostly objective suffixes. But these suffixes differ somewhat from those given in the table below. אִתְאִי *am*, Ned. 81 *a*; אִתְיָן Pes. 50 *a*; M. MS., *ibid.* אִתְיָן *we are*; אִתְיָנִי Yeb. 116 *a*, אִתְיָנִי Pes. 87 *b*, אִתְיָנִי *ibid.* M. MS., *you are*; אִתְהִי *is*, B. Q. 46 *b*; אִתְהִי *they are*, R. H. 20 *a*, a. e., אִתְהִי, Tam. 5 *a*; אִתְהִי, Me'ilā 7 *a*, read אִתְהִי = *ibid.* 5 *b*; לִיתְהִי *they are not*, Zeb. 14 *b*, 18 *b*, a. e.; לִיתְהִי, Er. 46 *b*, Pes. 87 *b*; *ibid.* M. MS. לִיתְהִי; אִתְהִי *they are*, fem., Šebû 14 *b*.¹

¹ לִיתְהִי *he is absent*, Keth. 22 *a*, a. e., belongs to legal style. In אִתְהִי *we are*, Pes. 50 *a*, אִתְהִי has assumed verbal, more correctly participial, form.

§ 118. **אֵלֶּיךָ**, only in the phrase **אֵלֶּיךָ וְאֵלֶּיךָ** *both this and that, these and those*, is used for both genders and both numbers.

§ 119. REFERENCES: **אֵלֶּיךָ** (**אֵלֶּיךָ**) Gitt. 85 *b*, a. e.; **אֵלֶּיךָ** Ber. 38 *b*, B. Q. 99 *b*, Sanh. 31 *a*, Keth. 17 *a*, Sôt. 35 *a*, a. e.—**אֵלֶּיךָ** (**אֵלֶּיךָ**), Ker. 25 *b*, Keth. 103 *a*. Me'ilā 12 *b*, and frequently in Ned. and Nāzîr.—**אֵלֶּיךָ** (= **אֵלֶּיךָ**), Gitt. 85 *b*.—**אֵלֶּיךָ** (**אֵלֶּיךָ**), Keth. 22 *a*, 89 *b*; Gitt. 85 *b*; B. M. 15 *a*, 18 *a*.—**אֵלֶּיךָ** (**אֵלֶּיךָ**), Col. MS., Zeb. 89 *a*.—**אֵלֶּיךָ** (contracted from **אֵלֶּיךָ**) frequent.—**אֵלֶּיךָ** (**אֵלֶּיךָ**), Ned. 53 *a*, 55 *a*, a. e.—**אֵלֶּיךָ** Ned. 41 *a*, Sabb. 52 *b*, a. e.—**אֵלֶּיךָ** (**אֵלֶּיךָ**), Col. MS., Pes. 75 *b*.—**אֵלֶּיךָ** (only orthographically different from **אֵלֶּיךָ**), Pes. 53 *b*, B. M. 60 *a*, Bekh. 45 *b*.—**אֵלֶּיךָ** (**אֵלֶּיךָ**), properly an adverb; MSS. Men. 3 *b*; **אֵלֶּיךָ** *all this*, Ber. 20 *b*; **אֵלֶּיךָ** *without this*, **אֵלֶּיךָ** *because of this*, frequent.—**אֵלֶּיךָ**, frequent.—**אֵלֶּיךָ** (**אֵלֶּיךָ**), frequent.—**אֵלֶּיךָ** (= **אֵלֶּיךָ**), with compensatory lengthening (v. § 77), **אֵלֶּיךָ** Hull. 11 *a*, eds.—**אֵלֶּיךָ** (**אֵלֶּיךָ**), Tam. 11 *a*, B. M. 90 *a*, and frequently in Ned. and Nāzîr.—**אֵלֶּיךָ** (**אֵלֶּיךָ** = Hebr. **אֵלֶּיךָ**), B. M. 15 *a*, 67 *b*, 110 *a*; Taan. 17 *b*; B. B. 38 *a*, 63 *a*; Keth. 87 *a*. Only in legal style.—**אֵלֶּיךָ** (= **אֵלֶּיךָ**), properly a singular, Gitt. 31 *b*, 45 *b*; Men. 34 *b*, a. e.; **אֵלֶּיךָ** (contracted from **אֵלֶּיךָ** = **אֵלֶּיךָ**), frequent.—**אֵלֶּיךָ** (**אֵלֶּיךָ**), only Col. MS., Meg. 2 *b*.—**אֵלֶּיךָ**, *TF*, p. 25.—**אֵלֶּיךָ**, *ibid.* 1.—**אֵלֶּיךָ** (**אֵלֶּיךָ**) frequent.—**אֵלֶּיךָ** (**אֵלֶּיךָ**) frequent.—**אֵלֶּיךָ** (= **אֵלֶּיךָ**), Col. MS., Zeb. 49 *a*, a. e.¹—**אֵלֶּיךָ** or **אֵלֶּיךָ** (**אֵלֶּיךָ**), B. M. 86 *a*, Zeb. 43 *b*, Hull. 90 *b*.—**אֵלֶּיךָ** (**אֵלֶּיךָ**), frequent.—**אֵלֶּיךָ** or **אֵלֶּיךָ** (**אֵלֶּיךָ**), frequent.—**אֵלֶּיךָ** (§ 69). M. MS., Pes. 111 *b*.—**אֵלֶּיךָ** (**אֵלֶּיךָ**), frequent.—**אֵלֶּיךָ** (**אֵלֶּיךָ**, § 119), frequent.—**אֵלֶּיךָ** (**אֵלֶּיךָ**), Ar. 32 *b*, Bekh. 20 *b*, Me'ilā 15 *b*, a. e.²

§ 120. Forms in parentheses are of rare occurrence, and belong partly to the Palestinian dialects.

¹ The **אֵלֶּיךָ** final in demonstrative pronouns is taken by M. Schultze (*Zur Formenlehre des Semit. Verbs*, p. 19, note 1) to be identical with the pronominal suffix of the 2d person; **אֵלֶּיךָ**, **אֵלֶּיךָ** he translates *hic tibi, haec tibi*, **אֵלֶּיךָ** would be *hae, hi, tibi*. In the latter form he sees the construct state of the absolute **אֵלֶּיךָ**. That **אֵלֶּיךָ** represents here the 2d person is, however, not necessarily the case, since one and the same pronominal element may represent different persons. Cf. *ZDMG.*, 1875, 172.

² *HG.*, ed. Hildesheimer, p. 96, **אֵלֶּיךָ**; *Se'ell.*, ed. pr., 86, **אֵלֶּיךָ**; **אֵלֶּיךָ**, *HG.* 491; **אֵלֶּיךָ**, *ibid.* 381. **אֵלֶּיךָ** *Letter of Condol. of Sam. Ha-Nagid to R. Hanan'el, Ocār Tob*, II., 68; **אֵלֶּיךָ**, *ibid.* 226. Cf. for the demonstrative force of the **אֵלֶּיךָ** the Arabic **ذلك**, **ذلك**, Hebr. **הַהוּא**, **הַהוּא**.—**אֵלֶּיךָ**, *HG.* 374.—Cf. Targumic **אֵלֶּיךָ** *he*. **אֵלֶּיךָ** (= **הַהוּא**) *ME.* 25. **אֵלֶּיךָ** *this* (legal style), *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 555.

§ 121. הָא is often joined to the following word, in which case the final א, which marks the length of the vowel, is not written. *E. g.*, הָאֵיךְ, הָשָׂא, הָכְתִּיב = יֵיךְ, הָא שִׁקָּא, הָא כְּתִיב.

§ 122. הָא, הָיָא, הָיָא sometimes unite with a preceding word, in which case they undergo phonetic or orthographic change. Thus, הָיָא + לָא becomes לָאֵ is *not*; הָיָא אֵיךְ becomes אֵינִי, הָיָא אֵיךְ becomes אֵינִי is *not*; מִדָּה הָיָא is contracted to מִדָּהֵי *how is it, how about?* and others. הָא + הָיָא becomes אֵהָיָא; הָא + מִדָּה + הָיָא = מִדָּהֵי; הָא + מִדָּה = מִדָּהֵי.

C. COPULATIVE PRONOUNS.

§ 123. *a)* The idiom of the Babylonian Talmud, differing in this respect from the cognate languages, has developed separate forms for the pronouns of the third person, when the latter imply the substantive verb and are used for the copula. These forms are:

Masc. sing. מִיֵּהָיָא¹

Masc. plur. מִיֵּהָיָא

Fem. sing. מִיֵּהָיָא

Fem. plur. מִיֵּהָיָא

b) REFERENCES: מִיֵּהָיָא *what is it?* Ned. 38 *b*; מִיֵּהָיָא *that it is, the very thing, ibid.*; מִיֵּהָיָא *it is I*, Taan. 24 *b*; מִיֵּהָיָא *who is it?* Pes. 104 *a*; מִיֵּהָיָא מִיֵּהָיָא *do I know where he is?*—מִיֵּהָיָא Ber. 44 *a*, Hull. 43 *b*, *a. e.*—מִיֵּהָיָא מִיֵּהָיָא *they all belong to one and the same kind*, Hull. 79 *a*; and frequently.—מִיֵּהָיָא Col. MS., M. Q. 3*b*, 9*b*, *a. e.*; *TF.* 9.

§ 124. Luzzatto² and Nöldeke³ consider the copulative pronouns to be of the corresponding forms of the personal pronouns; the former being formed out of the latter by the prefix מִי, and the initial א lost in the process of composition. Said prefix Nöldeke (*loc. cit.*) considers to be a mutilated מִי = מִי, הִיָּה. Such a use of that particle would find an excellent parallel in the Hebrew הִיָּה, הִיָּה, etc., where that particle also exhibits a

¹ Col. MS. Alfasi on Bēḡa 16*b* vocalizes מִיֵּהָיָא, *i. e.*, מִיֵּהָיָא (§ 80). *Se'elt.*, ch. 18, has מִיֵּהָיָא.

² *Elem. gram. del dial. talm. Babilon.*, § 52.

³ *Mand Gramm.*, p. 92, n. 1.

verbal force; but *cf.* Duval's objection, *Gram. Syr.*, p. 168, note 2. Merx (*Gram. Syr.*, p. 168) derives **נִינְהוּ** from a supposed form 'inin + hu through aphæresis of initial vowel, and from the latter **נִיהוּ** through syncope of medial נ. I should suggest that the copulative forms have an independent genesis. They are not derivatives, but parallel formations of the personal pronouns. They consist of the pronominal suffixes and the syllable **נִי**, a contraction of **נְהִי**, which latter in its turn is an apocopated form of **נְהוּי** = **לְהוּי**, the third person singular of the imperfect of **הוּא**, **נְהוּי** to be. That would explain why these forms are used only with the third person, while the Hebrew **הֵנָּה** may be used with all persons. A similar instance of the composition of **הוּא** is found in the term **הִנָּה** *granted*, which is a compound of **הִנֵּה** and **נָה**.¹

W. H. Lowe² has the following remark about these forms: "He (Luzzatto) did not perceive that the prefixed נ changes the simple pronoun into the substitute for the copula." The above words are apt to mislead the reader into the belief that Luzzatto was ignorant of the copulative force of these forms. As a matter of fact, he states it (*loc. cit.*) clearly enough, and it is but just to the deceased scholar that this should be pointed out. E. Blücher³ also, as far back as 1838, recognized the true nature of these forms.

§ 125. 1. **הֵינִי**, **הֵינִי**, frequent; **הֵינָּה** Col. MS., Meg. 7 a; **הֵינִי** Col. MS., Zeb. 13 b; M. MS., Pes. 60 a, *this is, these are*, are contractions of **הִי** *this* and of the respective forms of the copulative pronouns. The uncontracted form **הִי נִיהוּ** is cited V. L. ad Men. 92 b, notes 2, 3.⁴

2. Noteworthy is the pleonastic construction of our word with the copulative pronouns: M. MS., Taan. 20 b (*bis*) **הֵינִי נִינְהוּ** *these are*.

§ 126. **הֵינִי . . . הֵינִי** means: *this is one and the same, e. g.,* **וַרְדִּימָס וְמִנַּחֵם הֵינִי** *Wardimas and Menahem are one and the same person*, Sabb. 118 b.

¹ Levy, *Nh. u. ch. Wb.*, s. v. **הִנָּה**.

² The Fragm. of T. B. Pesahim, p. 38, note 1.

³ *מִרְפָּא לְשׁוֹן אֲרָמִי*, p. 71.

⁴ According to Halévy, *ZA.* IV., 59, **הֵינִי** is a contraction of **הִיא + הֵא + הֵא**!

§ 127. *הֵינִי* is sometimes used as a simple copulative pronoun: *דְּלֹאֹה הֵינִי אֲוֹרֵהָ* *this is something unusual*, Mun. MS., Sanh. 48 a. *מֶהָ הֵינִי* differs from *מֶהָ הֵינִי*; the first meaning *what is it?*¹ the latter, *what would it become?*

D. RELATIVE PRONOUN.

§ 128. a) The older form of the relative pronoun *דִּי* occurs only in the Palestinian recension of Aboth I., 13, in legal style, in the combinations *דִּי + ל*, *דִּי + ר*, *דִּי + ל*² of the emphatic possessive pronouns, and at times in the combination *דִּי לֹא* (*דִּי + לֹא*) *that not*. I have found besides but two examples of it: *דִּי לֹא תִפְּרוּ בְּנֵהְלָתִי* *that you may not share my fate*, Meg. 16 a, and *עַד דִּי קָטַל* *until he had killed*, Sanh. 96 b. The usual form of it is *דִּי*.

b) REFERENCES: *דִּי לִי* *mine*, B. M. 109 b, Ned. 50 a, 61 a; *דִּי לְךָ* *thine*, B. M. 109 b, Ned. 5 a; *דִּי לָהּ* *her*, Naz. 30 a, Ned. 36 b, 70 a, Sabb. 80 b, B. B. 33 b; *דִּי לָנוּ* *our*, Ned. 49 a; *דִּי לְכֻן* *your*, B. Q. 117 b; *דִּי לְכֻן*, Suk. 44 a; *דִּי לְהֻן* *their*, Gitt. 84 b, B. Q. 117 b; *דִּי לְהֻן* Sukk. 44 a.—*דִּי יִי*, *דִּי יִי*, *דִּי יִי*, *דִּי יִי*, *דִּי יִי*, frequent.

c) The usual form of the possessive is *דִּי יִי*; the form *דִּי לִי* occurs but seldom. *דִּי יִי* is a reduplication of the relative *דִּי*.

d) Instead of the usual *דִּי יִי* we find *דִּי יִי* *TF.*, p. 7.

E. INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.

§ 129. a) *מֶהָ* (*מֶהָ*) *who?* *מֶהָ*³ (*מֶהָ*, *מֶהָ*) *what?* *מֶהָ* *which, which one?* (*מֶהָ*, *מֶהָ*, *מֶהָ*) *which now* (*quisnam?*) (*מֶהָ*) *what now* (*quidnam?*) *מֶהָ* (*מֶהָ*, *מֶהָ*) *what is it?* *מֶהָ* (*מֶהָ* + *מֶהָ* or *מֶהָ* + *מֶהָ*) *which is it?* *מֶהָ* (*מֶהָ* + *מֶהָ*) *who is he? whose is it? מֶהָ* *who is she? whose is it?*⁴

b) REFERENCES: *מֶהָ*, *מֶהָ*, *מֶהָ*, *מֶהָ*, frequent.—*מֶהָ* A. Z. 41 b; *מֶהָ* *מֶהָ* *מֶהָ* *how do you deal with it?* *מֶהָ* frequent; *מֶהָ*, Men. 109 a; *מֶהָ*, Ned. 26 b; *מֶהָ* Tam.

¹ Cf. Lowe, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

² Cf. Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 87; cf. Maclean, *Gram. of Vernacular Syr.*, pp. 19, 55, 181.

³ *מֶהָ* is a contraction a) in some cases of *מֶהָ* *בֶּהָ*, b) in other of *מֶהָ* (§ 122). *TF.* vocalizes *מֶהָ*.

⁴ *HG.* 71, *מֶהָ*; *ibid.* 233, *מֶהָ*; *ibid.* 438, *מֶהָ*. *Se'el.*, pp. 5, 77, 80, 83, has *מֶהָ*, *ibid.* 178, a. e. *מֶהָ* *מֶהָ* *Se'el.* I.; *HG.* 95, 104, a. e. *מֶהָ* *מֶהָ* *HG.* 276. *מֶהָ*, *מֶהָ* used for *מֶהָ* *HG.* 22, 25, 68, 263.

32 *a*; **זֶה זֶה** MSS. Zeb. 69 *a*; **זֶה** MS. R. 117, B. M. 2 *b*, Pes. 90 *b*; **זֶה** M. MS., B. M. 2 *b*; **זֶה זֶה** (= **זֶה** + **זֶה**) M. MS., B. B. 8 *a*; **זֶה**. Naz. 12 *a*.—**מֵאֵן מִיָּהֶם** *which of them?* B. B. 12 *b*, for the usual **זֶה מִיָּהֶם**.—**זֶה מֵשָׁפֵט** *why should he swear?* F. MS., B. M. 82 *b*.

F. INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

a. Positive Indefinites.—§ 130. **כֵּן**,¹ **כֵּן** *Mr. So and So*, N. N.; **כֵּן** *Mrs. or Miss So and So*.—**כֵּן** *somebody*.—**כֵּן**,² **כֵּן**,³ **כֵּן** *something*, **כֵּן** *something*.—**כֵּן** *somebody*; **כֵּן** *somebody*: **כֵּן** *it is known that the place belongs to this or that man*, B. M. 21 *b*; cf. *ibid.* 23 *a*.—**כֵּן** *this and that, so and so*.—**כֵּן** . . . **כֵּן** *the one . . . the other*; **כֵּן** . . . **כֵּן** *the one . . . the other* M. Q. 25 *b*.

§ 131. **כֵּן** *est qui, sunt qui* is used in the sense of *some*: **כֵּן** *some say*.

§ 132. **כֵּן** *the whole world* is sometimes used in the sense of *anybody, anyone, everybody*.

§ 133. **כֵּן** and **כֵּן** are used like our *Tom, Dick and Harry* for *anyone*: **כֵּן** *I know no Hillāq and no Billāq, I know only a tradition*, Hull. 19 *a*; **כֵּן** *shall Hillāq and Billāq enjoy it?* Sanh. 98 *b*.⁴

§ 134. **כֵּן** *all, every*; **כֵּן** *everybody, everyone*; **כֵּן** *each and everyone*; . . . **כֵּן** *whoever*; . . . **כֵּן** *whoever, whatever*; . . . **כֵּן** *whatever*; **כֵּן** *whatsoever*; **כֵּן** *anything* (Ned. 49 *a*).

b. Negative Indefinites.—§ 135. . . . **כֵּן** *none, nobody, no one*.—**כֵּן** *nothing*. . . . **כֵּן** *nothing*. . . . **כֵּן** *nothing*.

¹ In later literature **כֵּן** is used also for inanimate objects: **כֵּן** *for so and so much money* Se'elt, 36; **כֵּן** *in such and such a place*, *ibid.* 51.

² In the opinion of Professor Haupt **כֵּן** is not a mutilated form of **כֵּן** but is the Hebrew **כֵּן**, **כֵּן**, *sufficiency* + **כֵּן** *from*; literally, *of a sufficiency*.

³ In Palmyrean **כֵּן**, cf. ZDMG. 42, 398, where the word is vocalized wrongly **כֵּן**; read **כֵּן**. Assy. mindēma.

⁴ This is perhaps connected with the Arabic (جاء بـ) مُلَقَّ فُلُقْ misfortune.

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b) REFERENCES: תַּלְתִּי, with change of liquids: M. MS., Sabb. 110 *a*.—תַּנִּי, with original *nūn*, as in תַּנְנִי, Col. MS., M. Q. 9 *a*.—אַרְבַּעַי: B. B. 30 *a*, 60 *a*; Er. 50 *b*; Col. MS., Pes. 13 *a*; a. e.—שִׁבְעַת: Keth. 67 *b*; תַּשְׁעַת: B. B. 62 *b*.—הַדִּירִסר: Taan. 18 *b*.—הַדִּיר סרי: Col. MS., Zeb. 58 *b*.—הַדִּיר עֶשֶׂר: Nidd. 54 *a*.—הַדִּיר סרי: R. H. 21 *a*; a. e.—תַּדִּיר סרי: Keth. 62 *b*; a. e.—תַּדִּיר עֶשֶׂר: 2 M. MS., Yôm. 69 *b*, 84 *a*; a. e.—תַּלְתִּי סרי: B. B. 133 *b*; Gitt. 68 *b*.—תַּלְתִּי עֶשֶׂר: Ned. 41 *a*.—תַּלְתִּי עֶשֶׂר: Taan. 14 *b*.—תַּלְתִּי עֶשֶׂר: Keth. 77 *b*.—תַּלְתִּי סרי: Ber. 55 *b*.—אַרְבַּעַי סרי: Ar. 12 *b*; Col. MS., Meg. 17 *a*.—אַרְבַּעַי סרי: Ar. 12 *a*; Sabb. 98 *b*.—אַרְבַּעַי: Pes. 4 *a*, 9 *b*; Col. MS., Meg. 2 *b*.—הַמִּשַׁת עֶשֶׂר: Ar. 12 *a*.—שִׁית עֶשֶׂר: B. B. 91 *b*.—שִׁית סרי: Col. MS., Meg. 2 *b*, 6 *a*.—שִׁבַּע עֶשֶׂר: B. B. 91 *b*.—שִׁבַּע עֶשֶׂר: Er. 83 *a*.—שִׁבַּע סרי: Er. 76 *b*, Meg. 2 *a*.—שִׁבַּע סרי: Bekh. 50 *a*.—תַּשְׁיִסר: Ber. 28 *b*.—תַּשְׁיִסר: Sabb. 17 *b*.—תַּשְׁיִסר: Ar. 12 *a*.—תַּשְׁ עֶשֶׂר: M. MS., Taan. 13 *b*.—תַּשְׁ: Nidd. 54 *a*.—עֶסְרִין: Col. MS., Meg. 6 *a*, 17 *a*.—תַּלְתִּין: Col. MS., Pes. 68 *b*.—שִׁתִּי: Col. MS., Pes. 111 *a*.—שִׁתִּין, Col. MS., Meg. 7 *b*, vocalizes שִׁתִּין.—תַּמְנִין: Ar. 13 *a*; a. e.—תַּמְנִין: B. Q. 115 *a*; a. e.—בִּזְאִית: Col. MS., Pes. 64 *b*.—רַבּוּא: Sanh. 39 *a*.

בִּזְאִית does not occur in the plural. אֶלֶּה, in the construct state perhaps אֶלֶּה, in the emphatic state אֶלֶּפֶּא, in the plural אֶלֶּפֶּי (Ned. 50 *b*), אֶלֶּפֶּן (Keth. 106 *a*), and usually אֶלֶּפֶּי.

The plural of רַבּוּא is רַבּוּאִין (Ned. 50 *b*), רַבּוּאִין (M. MS., A. Z. 16 *a*), רַבּוּוֹן (Hull. 7 *a*), and commonly רַבּוּוֹתָא (Sanh. 26 *a*, Gitt. 57 *a*, Pes. 62 *b*); that of רַבּבָּתָא is רַבּבִּין (Sanh. 16 *a*), רַבּבָּתָא (Ber. 6 *a*), and רַבּבּוּתָא or רַבּבּוּתָא (MS. Karlsr. and R. Hananel, Sanh. 26 *a*).¹

§ 137. Forms marked by a dagger end frequently also in הַ; those marked by an asterisk are found also written in one word; parenthetic forms are in the construct state.

§ 138. The ending תִּין is contracted to תִּי, (תִּי), תִּי, תִּי, in the numerals for 2, 80, and 200. Final *a* has been changed to *e* under the influence of adjacent *e* in אַרְבַּעַי, הַדִּירִסר, תַּלְתִּי and the like (§ 73). The ending *e* in תַּמְנִי represents an original *ai*. For the sifting of vowel in תַּמְנִי for תַּמְנִי, תַּלְתִּין for תַּלְתִּין, cf. § 92.

¹ The ך here may be an orthographical luxury to mark the plural; but may also represent *et*; cf. § 70.

§139. In תַּרְיִן and תַּרְתִּין the original נ of the second radical has been dissimilated under the influence of the final י (§53). The form תַּרְיִ is formed by analogy of תַּרְיִן. In תַּרְתִּין original *i* of the first syllable became *a* under the influence of the following ר.¹

§140. The following examples will illustrate how compound numbers greater than 19 are formed:

עֶשְׂרִין וְחָד	21	Bekh. 50
עֶשְׂרִין וְתַרְתִּין	22	Meg. 6a
תְּלַת מֵאָה וּשְׁתַּיִן וְאַרְבָּעָה	364	Yômâ 20 a
שִׁיתָא אַלְפִי	6,000	B. B. 73
תְּרִיסַר אַלְפִי	12,000	M. Q. 10 b
מֵאָה אַלְפָּה	100,000	Bekh. 8 b
תְּלִיסַר רִבּוּתָא	130,000	Sanh. 26 a
שִׁיתַּיִן רִבּוּן	600,000	Hull. 7 a
תְּלַת מֵאָה רִבּוּתָא	3,000,000	Pes. 62 b
אַלְפֵּה אַלְפִי רִבּוּא	10,000,000,000	Sanh. 39 a

§141. The following examples show the influence of the Latin: תַּרְתִּין נְכִי הָדָא 59, Nidd. 30 a; שִׁבְעִין נְכִי הָדָא 69, Er. 83 a; תַּמְנִין נְכִי תַּרְתִּין 78, Ar. 13 a; תַּמְנִין נְכִי תַּרְתִּין M. MS., Zeb. 118 b; cf. later Hebrew אַרְבַּעִים חֲסֵר אֶחָד 39.

§142. Through interchange of ל and ר, תְּרִיסַר and תְּלִיסַר are used interchangeably for 12 and 13, and it is frequently impossible to know which number is meant. Cf. the various readings to B. M. 24 b, 46 a, 85 a, 86 a; B. B. 12 a, 77 b, 150 b; Sanh. 26 a; B. Q. 112 b; Ber. 4 a, 8 a; M. Q. 10 b, 24 a, 26 a; Bêqā 23 a; Yômâ 87 b; Taan. 18 b (*bis*), 25 a; Hag. 4 a; H. G. 352; a. e. A similar interchange is found in Neo-Syriac (Nöldeke, *N.-S. Gr.*, pp. 53, 153).

§143. A number denoting more than one may be considered as a unit, in which case the number so considered is preceded by the substantive בֵּי house, family, body. E. g., תְּרֵי בֵּי תַּרְיִ, a body of two, three; two, three.

¹ Later forms are: הָדָא Hal. Ged. 206 (*bis*); תַּרְתִּין *ibid.* 399; תְּלַת three, Mach. Vitry 119; תְּרִיסַר *Se'ett.* 109; תְּרִי סְרִי *ibid.* 116; תְּרִי סַר Sa'are Tešabā, §172; תְּלִי סְרִי *ibid.*; שְׁתַּיִן *ibid.* 46; שְׁתַּסַּר *ibid.*; שְׁתַּיִן סַר Hal. Ged. 425, 595; שְׁתַּיִן שְׁשַׁר Hal. Pes. §39; שְׁבִיסַר *ibid.* 146 (*bis*); תַּמְנִי עֶשְׂרִי *ibid.* 255; תַּשְּׁסַר Mach. Vitry 4; תַּמְנִי חֲמִשָּׁה fifty, H. G. 452 (*bis*).

REFERENCES: **בִּי תֵּרִי** frequent; **בֵּיתֵרִי** Col. MSS.; **בִּי תֵּרִין** *two*, Sanh. 95 *a*; **בִּי תִלְתָּא** *three*, Sanh. 8 *a*; **בִּי אַרְבַּעָה** *four*, Šebu. 42 *a*; **בִּי חֲמִישָׁה** *five*, Yeb. 101 *b*; **בִּי עֶשְׂרֵה** *ten*, Er. 30 *a*, Sôtā 38 *b*; **בִּי עֶשְׂרִין וּתְלָתָא** *twenty-three*, Sanh. 8 *a*; **בִּי מֵאָה** *a hundred*, Ber. 50 *a*, Yeb. 88 *a*.¹

§ 144. **בִּי תֵּרִי** *two* takes pronominal suffixes to express determination, in which case it expands its form to **תֵּרִין**.² Thus, **וְתֵרִין** *we both*, Šebu. 37 *b*; **תֵּרִין** *you both*, B. Q. 60 *b*; **תֵּרִין** *they both*, Keth. 83 *b*; **תֵּרִין** Hull. 45 *b*; **תֵּרִין** Col. MS., M. Q. 31 *a*.³

§ 145. Luzzatto's remark (*op. cit.* § 63), that the compound numbers in **כִּרְי** are of rare occurrence, I cannot confirm. They occur as frequently as those in **כִּרְי**, if not oftener. It must, however, be noticed that the masculine and feminine forms are sometimes used promiscuously. Whether such a confusion in the use of the genders is original, or is only due to later copyists, is, on account of the lack of ancient MSS., hard to decide.

§ 146. Now and then we meet with numerals taken from other languages. They are used in homiletical etymologies and as illustrations of special points in Halacha. Thus, Ber. 56 *b*, the name Cappadocia is explained **כַּפָּא פְּשֻׁרָא דִּיקָא עֶשְׂרֵה**. "Kappa" means *beam*, "dika" means *ten* (δέκα). Er. 18 *a* **דִּיּוֹ** (δύο) *two*, *twice*. Naz. 8 *b* **שְׁלֹשָׁה טְרַיִגֹּן שְׁתֵּימֹן** *three times*. Symmachos says: **אַחַת דִּיגֹן** *one*, **אַחַת דִּיגֹן** *two*, **אַחַת דִּיגֹן** *three*, **אַחַת דִּיגֹן** *four*, **אַחַת דִּיגֹן** *five* (fold). B. B. 164 *b* **הֵיאָה**, *eva*, *one*. M. Q. 28 *a* 'Ēn Ya'akōb ed. princ. **אֵין** id. 'Ar. Sanh. 89 *a* the Persian numeral **هزار** 1000, occurs in the Persian phrase **כֶּאֱרֵךְ הָאֵס** *an ass of a thousand colors*.

B. Ordinals.—§ 147. Sing. masc. **קַמְאָה**, **קַמְאָה**, **קַמְאָה** (Ned. 40 *a*, 51 *a*); fem. **קַמְאָה**, **קַמְאָה**; plur. masc. **קַמְאָה**, fem. **קַמְאָה** *first*.

¹ In later literature: **בִּתְרִי** HG. 364, 489; **בִּתְלָתָא** *ibid.* 62, 65; **בִּתְלָתָא** *ibid.* 489, 490; **בִּתְלָתָא** *ibid.* 501.

² Cf. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 4.

³ In later literature: **תֵּרִין** HG. 282; **תֵּרִין** *they three*, *ibid.* 61; **תֵּרִין** *they four*, *ibid.* 398. For the **דָּש** in these forms, cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*, § 49, and Kautzsch, *Gram. d. Bibl.-Aram.*, § 65, 1, n. 1.

§148. Sing. masc. תַּנְיָנָא (Ned. 21 *a*, 63 *a*), תַּנְיָנָא ('Ar. Gitt. 6 *a*), *second*; תַּלְיָתָא, תַּלְיָתָא *third*; רְבִיעָא *fourth*; שְׁבִיעָא *seventh*, Nidd. 67 *b*; עֲשִׂירָא *tenth*. Plur. fem. רְבִיעֵיתָה *fourth*.

§149. The expression קָמָא קָמָא (Gitt. 12 *b*, B. B. 97 *a*, Pes. 7 *a*) corresponds to the later Hebrew רָאשׁוֹן רָאשׁוֹן, meaning *by and by, by degrees, gradually, successively*. Plur. masc. קָמָא קָמָא, Pes. 7 *a*.²

§150. Sabb. 31 *b*, 88 *a*, Ar. 13 *a*, תַּלְיָתָא is used in the sense of *triple*.

§151. *a*. Like the ordinals are used a number of other numeral adjectives:—Sing. masc. אַחֲרֵינָא *another*; אַחֲרֵינָא, Col. MS. Pes.; אַחֲרֵינָא *TF.*, p. 11; fem. אַחֲרֵיתָא, אַחֲרֵיתָא, אַחֲרֵיתָא (R. H. 18 *b*), אַחֲרֵיתָא, אַחֲרֵיתָא (Yeb. 64 *b*) אַחֲרֵיתָא (Col. MS. Pes.), אַחֲרֵי (Qid. 47 *a*, B. M. 15 *a*, *a. e.*).—Plur. masc. אַחֲרֵי, אַחֲרֵי (Col. MS. Pes.) אַחֲרֵי, *TF.*, p. 12, אַחֲרֵי, *ibid.* 17; fem. אַחֲרֵיתָא (Ned. 20 *b*, 22 *a*).

b. Sing. masc. בְּתָרָא, בְּתָרָא; fem. בְּתָרִיתָא, בְּתָרִיתָא; plur. masc. בְּתָרָא; fem. בְּתָרִיתָא *the last, the latter*.—תְּרִי כְּסִי בְּתָרָא *the last two cups*, Pes. 108 *b*; לְבָתְרָא דְּאִתּוּ בְּתָרָא *to my successors (descendants) who are to come after thee*, A. Z. 10 *b*.

C. Fractional Numbers.—§152. Fractional numbers are expressed partly by separate nominal formations, partly by various constructions of the cardinals. The separate formations are: תַּלְתָּא, תַּלְתָּא, תַּלְתָּא (Sabb. 87 *a*, ed. Sonc.) $\frac{1}{3}$; רִבְעָא $\frac{1}{4}$; חֲמִישָׁא $\frac{1}{5}$; שְׁתִּיתָא $\frac{1}{6}$.

§153. תַּלְתָּא חֲמִישָׁי $\frac{3}{5}$, Sukk. 32 *b*; תַּלְתָּא פְּלָגִי $\frac{3}{2}$, Sabb. 34 *b*; תַּלְתָּא רִבְעִי $\frac{3}{4}$ *ibid.*; תַּלְתָּא תַּלְתִּי $\frac{3}{3}$, תְּרִי תַּלְתִּי $\frac{2}{3}$, *ibid.* 35 *a*; חֲמִישִׁי *fifths*, Tem. 27 *a*; פְּלִגְהוֹן *the half of them*, B. B. 8 *a*.³

§154. In Syriac a difference of spelling exists in the word ܬܠܬܐ, the second ܬ being spirantic when it means *three years*

¹ In later literature: Sing. fem. תַּנְיָנָא, *HG.* 250; תַּנְיָנָא, *MV.* 101; תַּלְיָתָא, *HG.* 250; רְבִיעָא, רְבִיעָא, *MV.* 101; תַּשְׁרִיתָא, *HG.* 379; עֲשִׂירָא *ibid.*—Masc. תַּשְׁרִיתָא *ibid.* 618; שְׁתִּיתָא *ibid.*; תַּמְיָנָא *ibid.*; תַּמְיָנָא *ibid.*, 620. The *ninth* must have been תַּשְׁרִיתָא, תַּשְׁרִיתָא*.

² Cf. Luzzatto, *op. cit.*, § 64, and Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

³ In later literature: תַּלְתָּא $\frac{1}{3}$, *HG.* 127; חֲמִישָׁא $\frac{1}{5}$, *ibid.* 487.

כִּי (Col. MS., Pes. 96 a) *wherever, in all cases where*.—בְּהִרְיֹק *instead*.—הִתָּם *there, in that case*. תָּם, תַּמָּן *there*.—לְעֵיל, לְעֵילָא, *above, upward, on top, supra*.—מִלְּמַנָּה, *beneath, below, ahead, further, infra*.—מִלְּרַע (Sabb. 92 a), מִלְּתַחַת (Bekh. 8 b), לְתוֹחָא (M. MS., Bēcā 15 a), לְתַתָּא (B. B. 45 a), לְתַתְּמַתָּא (B. Q. 23 b), מִתַּתָּא *beneath, underneath, down, below* (§§ 82, 158).¹

§ 158. With the forms in אָ, אַ, some such word as נָא is to be understood. On לְעֵילָא, לְתַתְּמַתָּא, see above, § 82. The א in אֲנָא, אֲנָא, is prothetic. הִתָּם, הִתָּא are compounds of הָא and תָּם, Hebr. שָׁם, and פָּא, Hebr. פֹּה, respectively. In תַּמָּן and לְקַמָּן (= לְ + קָדָם) we have the demonstrative element יָ. The reading of the latter לְקַמָּן and not with Levy לְקָמָן is warranted by tradition, supported by the vocalization of the Col. MSS., and has its analogies in our idiom. In אֲנָא we have a compound of א (= עַל) and נָא; הִתָּא, הִתָּא consist of פָּא and הָא, אָ, respectively. In מִתַּתָּא (= מִן + תַּתְּמַתָּא) and לְתוֹחָא (לְ + תַתְּמַתָּא) we have syncope of הָ.

Adverbs of Time.—§ 159. אֲדָה, אֲדָה, Col. MS. אֲדָה, *while, when, when not yet*.—אֲדָהּ, אֲדָהּ, אֲדָהּ (Col. MS., Meg. 16 a vocalizes אֲדָהּ, *meanwhile, in the meantime*. אֲדָהּ, אֲדָהּ (= אֲדָהּ + עַדְהָא), *now, this time, nowadays*. אֲדָהּ (Col. MS., Meg. 12 a vocalizes אֲדָהּ), *when*.—כָּל אֲדָהּ *whenever, as long as, as often as*.—אֲדָהּ, אֲדָהּ, אֲדָהּ (Col. MS.) *still, yet, even now*.—מִן אֲדָהּ, מִן אֲדָהּ (Ned. 4 b, Raši, *ibid.*, has מִן אֲדָהּ), *on the spot, at once*.²—אֲדָהּ (= אֲדָהּ + שְׁתָּא קְדָמִיתָא + prothetic א) *last year*.—לְאַחַר, לְאַחַר, *after, later on*.—בֵּינֵי בֵּינֵי *in the meanwhile*.—דְּאֵיבַד, דְּאֵיבַד, דְּאֵיבַד (Col. MS., Zeb. 32 a, with apocope of ד and change of ז to א), *lit. when it was done, ex post facto*.—הָא *already, since*.—הָא *now, at present*.—זִמְנֵן *sometimes*.—אֲדָהּ *yesterday*.—לְדָמָהּ (Col. MS., Zeb. 84 a), לְדָמָהּ (B. M. 17 a), לְדָמָהּ (ibid. H. MS.), לְדָמָהּ (ibid. ed. Ven.), לְדָמָהּ (ibid. F. MS.), *after-to-morrow*.—כִּי, כִּי, *when*.—כִּי *now; when he*.—כִּי *since, as*

¹ הִתָּא *here*, HG. 471 (bis); אֲדָהּ *where, ibid.* 63, 69, a. e.; לְתַתְּמַתָּא, *ibid.* 315.

² The statement of the dictionaries that אֲדָהּ occurs only with ל is to be corrected accordingly.

said verb; it occurs also in the form **הַתִּיָּה**. The above and **בְּשִׁלְמָא** are synonymous. The latter is used in reference to a superior sort of authority (*e. g.* of Scripture) as compared with that indicated by the use of the former. Note the expression **בְּרֵי הָכִי** *such a one, such a fellow*.

Adverbs of Quantity.—§ 162. **אִינְגַד** (Gittin, 58 a) according to Raši, *ad. loc.* = **בְּצִיר** *a little*.—**טַב**, **טוֹבָא** *a good deal, much*.—**בִּיתִירָתָא**, **יִתִיר**, **טַרְיָה**, **טַפְיָא**, **טַפִּי** *entirely*.—**פְּלֵי הָאֵי**, **פְּלֵי הָאֵי**, **פְּלֵי הָאֵי** (lit. *all this*) *so much!*—**פְּלֵי הָאֵי** (Col. MS., M. Q. 6 a), *as much as*.—**פְּמָה** *how much, how many!* **טַפִּי** **פְּמָה** *the more the more*: R. H. 26 b, **פְּמָה דְּכִינְיָא אִינְיֵי דְּעִיתִיָּה טַפִּי מַעְלֵי** *the more one bends his mind the better it is*.—**פְּלֵי דְּהָא** *the least possible quantity, whatsoever*.—**פְּמָה דְּאִפְשָׁר** *as much as possible*.—**פּוֹרְתָא** *a little, a trifle*.—**קַלִּיל**, **קִלְיָא** *a little*.—**רַבָּא** *much, very much*.

Interrogative Adverbs.—§ 163. **אִימַת**, **אִימַת** (Col. MS.) *when?*—**אִינְי** *is it really so?*—**אִדְהֵיא** *to which does this refer?*—**לְאַי** *for what purpose?*—**לְאַי** (+ **הָא**), **לְאַי** (*whither?* (TF., p. 26).—**הֵי**, **הֵיכָא** (Col. MS.), *where?*—**לְהֵיכָא** *whither?*—**מֵהֵיכָא**, **מֵהֵיכָא**, **מֵהֵיכָא**, **מֵהֵיכָא** *whence?*—**הֵיכָא**, **הֵיכָא** (MS., Vat. 117, B. M. 67 b), *how?*—**אִטוּ**, **מֵינֵי**, **מֵינֵי** (in questions expressing surprise or indignation) *do you mean to say? is it because? how!? what!?*—**אִי** (Ned. 3 a), **מֵי**, **וְכֵי**, **וְכֵי**, *num?*—**לְמָה**, **לְמָה**, **לְמָה**, **לְמָה** *noun?*—**לְמָה**, **לְמָה**, **לְמָה**, **לְמָה** *why, wherefore?*—**לְמָה**, **לְמָה**, **לְמָה**, **לְמָה**, a particle of doubtful character. See Kohut, *Aruch. Compl.* s. v.

§ 164. On the punctuation of **מֵהֵיכָא** see above (§ 90). It is the apocopated form of **מֵהֵיכָא**, which latter is a compound of **מֵהֵי** + **כָּא**. It is joined to the following word, forming a compound. Thus, **מֵהֵיכָא מֵהֵיכָא** *whence have we this?* (Zeb. 8 b, Naz. 48 b, a. e.) *whence has he this?* **מֵהֵיכָא מֵהֵיכָא** (Col. MSS.) *whence have you these things?*

§ 165. **מֵי** and **כֵּי** are generally preceded by a **וְ**. The former introduces nominal sentences, the latter verbal. **מֵי**, or **וְכֵי**, usually stands immediately before the verb. If the verb be preceded by a negative, **מֵי** is often inserted between the negative

¹ **אִיכָא**, HG. 63, 69.

² Cf. Stüber, *Jüd. Babyl. Zaubertexte*, p. 56.

of *Māhōzā*. R. H. 17 a. וַיִּפֹּל בְּתוֹרָא and he dropped torn in two. בְּתוֹרָא, בְּשִׁשָּׁרָא, in the presence of three, of ten, Ber. 56 b, fr. Cf. also below (§ 174). The ׀ is found in the Talmud also in a separate form “בִּי.”

§ 172. כִּי, כִּי, כִּי, like.—לִי, לִי, לִי, to, unto; generally *nota accusativi*.—מִי, מִי, from.

§ 173. To the Palestinian R. Jōhānān we owe the single example of the use of לִי with oaths as a particle of asseveration, as in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Assyrian.¹

Separate Prepositions.—§ 174. אַפִּי (§ 28) upon, on. אַפִּי בִּרְשִׁית upon a chair; אַפִּי יְדֵיהֶם upon their hands, Sanh. 17 a.² אַפִּיתִי (= אֶל + אֶת), cf. בִּיתִי.

אֵנָּב (= אֵל + אֵנָּב) on, upon; by dint of, by the way of, on account of.

אַחֲרֵי behind, backward.

אֲשֵׁי on account of, for the sake of. The word is connected with Fellihî-Syriac ܐܝܬܝܐ, ܐܝܬܝܐ, ܐܝܬܝܐ, ܐܝܬܝܐ, and ܐܝܬܝܐ of other Syriac dialects.³

אֲדִי, אֲדִי, אֲדִי (A. Z. 15 a; Col. MS., Zeb. 35 b), by means of, through, by the way of. Cf. Hebrew עַל יָד.

אֲמִטוּל, (אֲמִטוּ, אֲמִטוּ), אֲמִטוּלָא, אֲמִטוּלָא, for the sake of, on account of. The word is of doubtful etymology. The original form was evidently אֲמִטוּל, a compound of עַל + מִן + טוּל, which former may mean *shade, protection, burden, or going, passing*; cf. the Hebrew בְּעֶבְרָה, בְּעֶבְרָה. In the expression אֲמִטוּל הָיִי the final ל of אֲמִטוּל is often attached to הָיִי and written אֲמִטוּ לְהָיִי. (M. V. 6 has אֲמִטוּ לְהָיִי).⁴

אַחֲרֵי, אַחֲרֵי, only with the prepositions לִי and כִּי: אַחֲרֵי לְאַחֲרֵי toward, opposite; אַחֲרֵי בְּאַחֲרֵי in the presence of, before.

¹ Yômā 84 a. A. Z. 28 a, we are told how a woman did not wish to tell R. Jōhānān the formula of a medicine, unless he swore not to disclose it to others. He agreed to it and swore: לֹא אֶגְלֶיָּהּ דְּיִשְׂרָאֵל לְאַחֲרֵי by the God of Israel, I shall not disclose it! He then went and gave away the secret to his audience in a lecture at college. When asked how he could break his oath, he answered: “I said ‘To the God of Israel I shall not disclose it;’ but not to the people of Israel.” He thus explained the לִי casuistically as a mere *nota dativi*.

² אַפִּי in אַפִּי חֲדָתָהּ upon their bosom, Sanh. 17 a is a compound of אֶל upon and בֵּית = פֵּית. In later literature: כִּי הָיִינוּ אַפִּי מִרְּכִיזָא when we were at our lord's (at the house) Še'el. 77.

³ Cf. Sachau, *Skizze des Fellihî-Dialekts von Mosul*, p. 32, 37, 39. Maclean, *op. cit.* 187.

⁴ Cf. פִּינִי שִׁדְּלִי, p. 308 sq. But cf. אֲמִטוּלָא הָיִי TF. 2. בְּנִי. Respons. d. Lehrer d. Ost. u. Westens, ed. Müller, § 122.

בְּדִיל *on account of*. Only Yôma, 75 b.

בֵּי *within, in, by, etc.*, is the separate form of the preposition בִּי.¹ The traditional pronunciation of it as בֵּי is due to a confusion with בֵּי *between, house*.

בֵּי, בֵּין, בֵּינֵי, בֵּינָא, בֵּינָח, *between, among*. Keth. 28 a, M. MS., Sabb. 110 a, בֵּינֵייהוּ; (H. G. 339 בֵּינֵיהוּ). Notice: בֵּקֶאֶרִי, בֵּבּוּצֵי, Col. MS., Meg. 12 ab (voc.).

בְּלֹא, בְּלָאוּ, *without*.

לְבַר מִ, לְבַר מִן, *except, save, besides*.

בְּאַחֵר, בְּאַחֵר, *after, behind*.

לְגַבִּי, לְגַבִּי, *near, at, to, with, in case of, toward*.

בְּ, בְּ, בְּ, בְּ, constr. st. בְּ, בְּ, generally with ל, ב and מ: לְגוֹ, לְגוֹ, *into, amidst*; בְּגוֹ *in, within, amongst, amidst*; מִגּוֹ *from, out*.

דִּבְּרֵי דִּבְּרֵי *like, similar, analogous to*.

לְהֵרִי, only with ב or ל: בְּהֵרִי *with, by*; לְהֵרִי *unto, to, toward*. The singular form occurs but seldom: לְהֵרִי, A. Z. 28 b.

חֲלָהּ *instead, in place of*.

רַת *nota accusativi*. This is very rare in the Babylonian Talmud. רַתִּיהָ *him*, Ned. 49 a; רַתִּיהָ *her, it*, eds. Ned. 50 b; רַתְּכוֹן *you*, Ber. 38 a; רַתְּיִכוֹן Nidd. 61 a; רַתְּהוֹן *them*, Ned. 25 a, 41 a, B. M. 90 b, a. e.²

כְּנִי *like*; כְּנִי דִּי *like me*, Col. MS., M. Q. 2 b; כְּנִי *like me*, *ibid.* Pes. 105 b (§ 110); כְּנוֹתֵי *like us*, B. B. 65 a.

כִּי, (= כ + ד) *like*. כִּי הִשְׁתָּא *now* (Sabb. 119 a) = Hebr פִּנֵּית. — כִּי פִלְבָּא *like that of a dog*, ed. Const. Sanh. 96 a.

כְּנִי (= כ + גוֹ) *like, similar to, for example*.

¹ M. Lambert, *REJ.* XXII., 129-131 finds this form of the preposition also in Biblical Hebrew.

² In later literature the older form רַת has been preserved: רַתְּיִכִי *thee* (f.) *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 15. Cf. also Noeldke, *SG.*, 199, note 1, and Lagarde, *Mittheil.* I., 226. I. H. Weiss (*Zur Gesch. d. jüd. Trad.*, II., 128, note 1), justly observes that the fact that the Biblical Aramaic never uses רַת as *nota accusativi* except once with a pronominal suffix (Dan. 3, 12) would go to prove that the use of this particle is a Hebraism with Onkelos—and, we may add, with all other Aramaic languages where its use is found—who intended to give by its adoption a basis for the exercise of R. Akiba's hermeneutic rule that every *nota accusativi* implies an inclusion of some additional case, identifying, of course, רַת with רַת. The entire want of this particle in the Mandaic—an idiom outside of the sphere of Jewish influences—is the best proof of Mr. Weiss' supposition.

³ Some scholars see the same use of כִּי also in Biblical Hebrew. Cf. Dubsowitz, *Hebr.-Böcher 'Or*, V., 265-272, and M. Lambert, *REJ.* XXII., 129-131.

כָּלְפִי (= לְ + אֲפִי) *toward, in the direction of, with regard to.*
 לָךְ *to, unto.* M. Q. 9 b, לָךְ *to thee.* B. M. 62 b, לָךְ
to me. Very rare.

לְפִי (Hebrew לְפָנַי) *according to.* Palestinian מִיַּחְמַת *in consequence of, through.*

מִן (M. MS., Men. 65 a), *from, out, of.*

מִשּׁוּם *because of, on account of.*

נִיְהִיָּה *to, unto.*

עַד *until, till.* עַד הֵן *instead of.* Usually contracted to אֶד־.

עַל *on, upon.*

עַל יְדֵי *through, by means of* (Ar. 16 b).

עָלָא, עִילָא, *on, upon.*

עֲלֵי *on, upon,* Hull. 8 b, Sabb. 156 b, a. e. (§§ 41, 181).

עֲלֵיָא *above, beyond, higher than, before* (Sabb. 30 a, Raši, a. e.).

עִם *with.* In the Talmud the word is used only in legal style; but it is found frequently in Še'el. and Hal. Ged.

לְקַבֵּל, לְקַבֵּלָא, *opposite, against, before.* B. B. 111 a; Tam. 32 a. (Palestinian.)

לְקַדָּם, לְקַדָּם, בֵּין קַדָּם, *before.* Sabb. 30 b; 67 a; Gitt. 85 b. (Palestinian.)

לְקַמִּי, קַמִּי, בְּקַמִּי, *before, in the presence of, for.* Ar. 31 b, בְּקַמִּי דִּידָךְ *before thee.*¹ The word is generally used as an expression of politeness before names of persons in authority.

תַּחְתִּי, תַּחְתֵּי, *beneath, below, under; instead, in place of* (A. Z. 10 a).

§ 175. בֵּין בֵּין means: *both this and that.* בֵּין לְמִי *according to the opinion of the one as well as to that of the other.*

§ 176. בֵּין is of rare use, and almost entirely limited to the pronominal suffixes, the apocopated form being used before nouns, Note the expressions מִיֵּינִיה מִיֵּינִיה *out of it, yea, of it, i. e., of the very thing.*—מִיֵּינִיה וּבִיה, *the same.*—לֹא כָּל מִיֵּינִיה *he is not able.* The expression is probably originally an ironical question, *Is everything so as if coming from him, by his authority?*

¹ Še'el. מִקִּימֵיהָ *from before them.* H. G. 100, לְקַמִּיהָ *for her; ibid.* 387, קַמִּי פְלָנָא *for a half.*

אִי־נָא, ¹ אִי־נָא, אִי־נָא, אִי־נָא (Col. MS., Zeb. 6 a) *if not, but, except, only*. Compare Latin *nisi*, Italian *se non*, אִי־נָא... אִי־נָא *only*; cf. the French *ne ... que*.

אִי־נָא *if*, a Hebraism.

אִי־נָא, ² אִי־נָא (Col. MSS.), *consequently*.

אִי־נָא, ³ אִי־נָא, *if in any way not, if not, but for, if indeed*.

אִי־נָא *also*; generally אִי־נָא... אִי־נָא *also, even*. אִי־נָא... אִי־נָא... אִי־נָא *as ... so*.⁴

אִי־נָא *even if, even*, a Hebraism.

אִי־נָא *notwithstanding, although, though*.

אִי־נָא *nevertheless*, a Hebraism.

אִי־נָא or אִי־נָא (§ 31) *so that, that, in order that; for, since*.

אִי־נָא *for, because*.

אִי־נָא *lest, perhaps*.

אִי־נָא *then, of course, for sooth; but, is not it! this means to say; but*. Often אִי־נָא,

אִי־נָא *since, because*, a Hebraism.

אִי־נָא, אִי־נָא, אִי־נָא (Col. MSS.) *therefore* (= אִי־נָא + אִי־נָא). אִי־נָא, or אִי־נָא.

אִי־נָא *is that so now? well!*

אִי־נָא *since, when, if*, אִי־נָא, see אִי־נָא and אִי־נָא.

אִי־נָא *and, but*. Often introducing a question: *but, is it indeed so?*

There are also traces of the אִי־נָא consecutive. Cf., e. g., אִי־נָא *and let her be freed*, Yeb. 19 a.

אִי־נָא is used in peculiar way with אִי־נָא *is of opinion*, אִי־נָא. אִי־נָא, without having any apparent force.⁵

אִי־נָא *when*, (= אִי־נָא + אִי־נָא).

אִי־נָא, אִי־נָא, אִי־נָא, a postpositive particle having the force of אִי־נָא and of אִי־נָא. M. MS., Sabb. 4 a אִי־נָא פִּי הַתִּירָיו *and he did not recollect whom they had allowed*. Qidd. 48 a בּוֹ בִּנְיָאִי.

¹ אִי־נָא, HG. 406; אִי־נָא or not (= אִי־נָא + אִי־נָא) HG. 456. On the change of *o* to *e* cf. Haupt, *AEV*, 22.

² For its etymology see Jastrow's *Diction*, s. v.

³ On this word see R. Duval, *REJ*, IV., 268-273; M. Lambert, *ibid.* IX., 290-301; M. Jastrow, *ibid.* XI., 157-158; Halóvy, *מִתְחַבֵּר*, p. כא.

⁴ In later literature we find the Persian אִי־נָא used for אִי־נָא in the phrase אִי־נָא *cf.* TG., ed. Harkavy, Index, s. v., and *Letter of Sam. ha-Nagid* II. 68, אִי־נָא *read: אִי־נָא*. The word is also found in Neo-Syriac; cf. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 38, Maclean, *op. cit.*, 161.

⁵ See on this אִי־נָא: Geiger, *Lehrbuch zur Sprache der Mishna*, § 23, 2; and Sachau, *Skizze*, etc., p. 45.

read: **בְּמַאי פִּי** *wherewith then, etc.?* Id. M. MS., Taan. 7 *b*, H. MS., B. M. 67 *b*. MS. Vat. 117, B. M. 67 *b* **כִּי הֵי** *how then?* M. MS., R. R. 29 *a* **פִּי מֵאֵן** *who then?* B. B. 10 *a* **כִּי הִשְׁתָּא**, *ibid.* M. MS. **כִּי הִשְׁתָּא**, *ibid.* H. and R. MSS. **כִּי הִשְׁתָּא**. B. B. 111 *a* **כִּי הִשְׁתָּא**; M. Q. 26 *a*, eds. *id.* and frequent in MSS. Cf. Ethiopic *kā*, *kē*.¹

כִּי (shortened from **כִּדִּי**, or ... **כִּדִּי**) *if, when*. B. Q. 84 *b*, a. e. **לֹא כִּי לֹא** *if not, not*.

כִּי יִהְיֶה (TF.6) *so that, in order that*.—**כִּי יִהְיֶה** *lest*.²

כִּי יִהְיֶה (פִּיִּן דִּי) M. MS., B. M. 39 *a*) *as soon as, after, since*.³ **מֵאַחֵר** *since*.

כִּי (מִן + הֵי) *in case, since, supposing*.

מֵהֵר *from the fact that, since*.

מִיְהָא, **מִיְהָא**, **מִיְהָא**, *but, yet, however, nevertheless*.⁴

מִכָּלל *hence, it then follows*.

מִקִּמָּי דִּי *before that, ere*.

נִמְי *also, too, even*, frequently preceded by **אֵת**, *q. v.*⁵

§ 183. **אֵי** and **אִי** are often interchangeable so that, for instance, we may have **אֵי ... אֵי**, **אִי ... אִי**, **אֵי ... אִי**, **אִי ... אֵי**, promiscuously. Col. MS., Zeb. 2 *a* a. e., has **אִיבְעִית** for the usual **אֵיבְעִית**; **אֵיבְעִית** *if*, *id.*, *ibid.* 4 *b*, 5 *a*; **אִיבְעִית** *id.*, *ibid.* 5 *b*.

§ 184. **אֵי** is frequently contracted with the following word. This is especially the case with some standing expressions; as **אֵיבְעִית**, **אֵיבְעִית**, **אֵיבְעִית**. Col. MS., Zeb. 22 *b*, a. e., **אֵיבְעִית** for **אֵיבְעִית**.⁶

¹ In later literature: **מֵאֵי כִּי אֵיבְעִית**, read: **מֵאֵי כִּי אֵיבְעִית** *MF.* 5; **מֵאֵי כִּי** *Letter of Sam. ha-Nagid*, טוב II., p. 65.

² In later literature: **כִּי יִהְיֶה דִּי** *HG.*, 63; **כִּי יִהְיֶה דִּי**, *ibid.* 24, 33; **כִּי יִהְיֶה דִּי**, *ibid.* 73; **כִּי יִהְיֶה דִּי**, 'Anān, quoted by Harkavy, *MWJ.*, 1893, p. 226.

³ **כִּי יִהְיֶה דִּי**, *MF.* 11.

⁴ **מִיְהָא**, or **מִיְהָא**, *HG.* 473, 533. The word is a compound of the interrogative **מִי** and **הָא**, *הָא*; cf. Jastrow, s. v.

⁵ According to Dalman, *Gram.*, p. 191, note 2, **נִמְי** is the first pers. sing. perf. of **נָמַי** *to speak*. The word is perhaps connected with 'Omanee Arabic **نَمِي** *also*, or with **نَمِي** *to increase*.

⁶ For suggestions about the etymologies of some of the adverbs, prepositions and conjunctions, cf. Jastrow's *Dictionary*; Geiger's *Jüd. Zeitschr.* VIII., 180-90; Luzzatto's *Grammar*, and Liebermann's pamphlet mentioned in the Preface.

INTERJECTIONS.

§ 185. וָהִי, וָהִי, *woe! alas! oh!*

וָהִי *O!* = Arabic *يَا*.¹ שְׁתִּיקִי שְׁתִּיקִי *come now, keep quiet!* Qidd. 70b. This particle is more frequent in Palestinian Aramaic. הֵיָהֵר הֵיָהֵר *go on! make haste! hurry up! quick! lively!*² וָהִי, וָהִי, וָהִי, *woe! oh! alas!*

הָהֵן הָהֵן, הָהֵן הָהֵן, the camel-driver's call. הָהֵן הָהֵן (V. L. Pes. 112b), הָהֵן (Col. MS., *ibid.*) the ox-driver's cries. הָהֵן הָהֵן, הָהֵן הָהֵן (V. L. *ibid.*) a cry to frighten away a lion.

הָהֵן הָהֵן, הָהֵן הָהֵן, הָהֵן הָהֵן, הָהֵן הָהֵן, are given in Pes. 112b (*cf.* VL.) as sailor's cries.³ *Cf.* Syt. הָהֵן הָהֵן.

הָהֵן הָהֵן an onomatopoeic word imitating the dripping of water.

הָהֵן *very well! all right!* The word is connected with Ethiopic *lahaja to be beautiful*. *Cf.* Jastrow, s. v.

הָהֵן הָהֵן, *ding-dong*; an onomatopoeic word.

הָהֵן הָהֵן an imitation of bubbling water.

§ 186. הָהֵן הָהֵן, הָהֵן הָהֵן, and their variants are evidently demonstrative pronouns, and their use as a means of urging on animals and warding off wild beasts is probably based on some superstitious notion no more apparent. *Cf.*, however, Arabic زَهْ, هَاهُ, هَاهُ, دَاهِ دَاهِ, دَاهِ دَاهِ, ضَعَّ ضَعَّ.

¹ For the explanation of this particle I am indebted to Professor Haupt, who remarks: "The וָהִי in שְׁתִּיקִי שְׁתִּיקִי is perhaps a cohortative particle, *cf.* Assy. 1, e. g., 1 *חַי* *חַי* *come out*, 1 *רִיד* *רִיד* *go down*, etc. *Cf.* Delitzsch, *Assyr. Wb.*, p. 333, No. 160; *Prot.*, 135; *ZK.*, II., 389; *ZA.*, I., 51; *Assyr. Gramm.*, § 145. It is possible that the וָהִי in expressions like *וָהִי שְׁתִּיקִי* *O Robbi*, is the same particle. It is certainly not *ע*, *ε*, *αι*. It may be connected with the Arabic vocative particle *يَا*. Also in Assyrian *f* is used as a vocative particle like *אִי רַבִּי*, e. g., 1 *beli*; *cf.* Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, 1894, p. 52." From Saadya's commentary on the *סִיגִירָה* (ed. Lambert, p. 45) we see that at his time the Arabic form *הָהֵן* was in use, just as in modern Syriac. For its use in later Hebrew, *cf.* Derenbourg, *Manuel du Lecteur*, p. 189 (497) and Epstein, *Ebtād ha-Dānī*, p. 58, *cf.* also *אִי* on a Babylonian magic bowl, *PSBA.* XII., 311.

² *הָהֵן* occurs also in Neo-Syriac, Arabic and Kurdish (Lidzbarski, *DLZ.*, 1896, Col 583) and has nothing to do with *הָהֵן to live*.

³ Perles, *MWGG.* XXXVII., 10, finds in some of these words the names of ships.

⁴ *הָהֵן הָהֵן*, M. V., 328.



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